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HISTORY OF ROME AND THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

HISTORY OF ROME AND THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY

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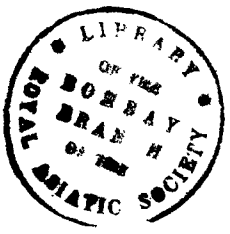

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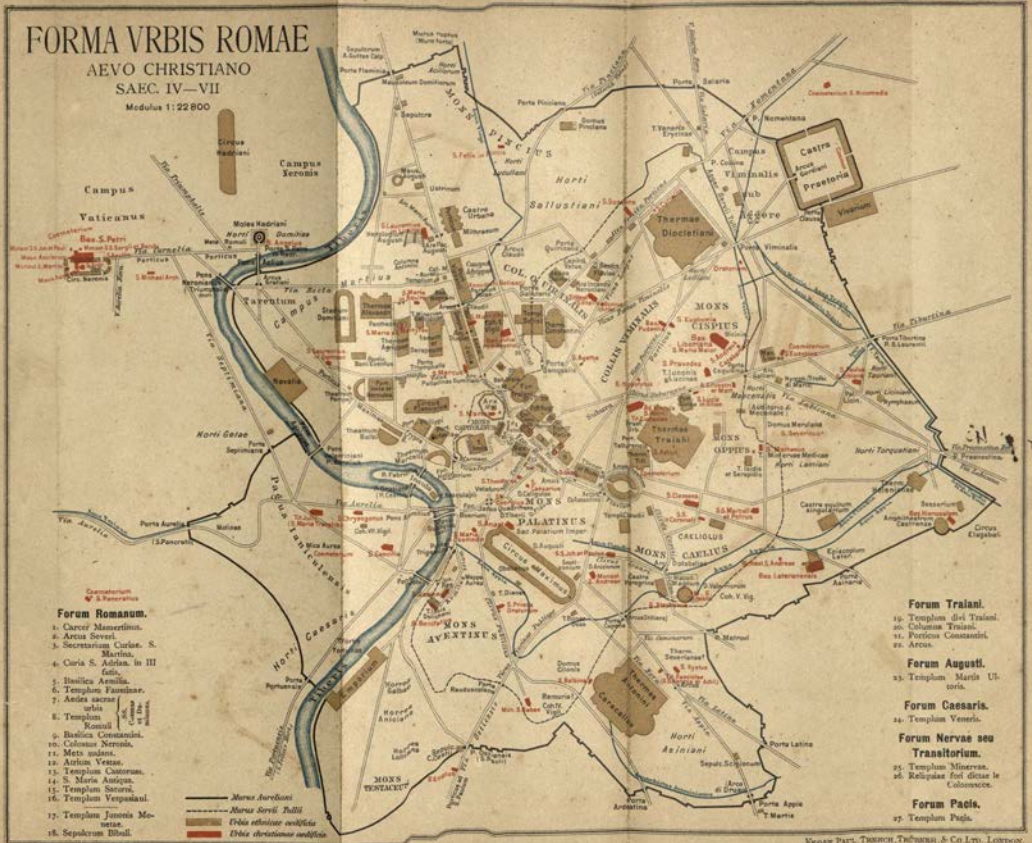
FORMA VRBIS ROMAE
AEVO CHRISTIANO
SAEC. IV—VII
Modulus 1:22800
Forum Romanum.
1. Carcer Mamertinus.
2. Arcus Severi.
3. Secretarium Curiae. S. Martina.
4. Curia S. Adrian. in III fatis.
5. Basilica Aemilia.
6. Templum Faustinae.
7. Aedes sacrae urbis
8. Templum Romuli
9. Basilica Constantini.
10. Colossus Neronis.
11. Meta sudans.
12. Atrium Vestae.
13. Templum Castorum.
14. S. Mariae Antiquae.
15. Templum Saturni.
16. Templum Vespasiani.
17. Templum Junonis Monetae.
18. Sepulcrum Bibuli.
Forum Traiani.
19. Templum divi Traiani.
20. Columna Traiani.
21. Porticus Constantini.
22. Arcus.
Forum Augusti.
23. Templum Martis Ultoris.
Forum Caesaris.
24. Templum Veneris.
Forum Nervae seu Transitorium.
25. Templum Minervae.
26. Reliquiae fori dictae le Colonnacce.
Forum Pacis.
27. Templum Pacis.
Murus Aurelianus
Murus Servii Tullii
Urbis ethnicae aedificia
Urbis christianae aedificia
Campus Vaticanus
Campus Neronis
Circus Maximus
Moles Hadriani
Horti Sallustiani
Thermae Diocletiani
Castra Praetoria
Castra Peregrina
Horti Getae
Horti Asiniani
Horti Torquatiani
Horti Lamiani
Horti Maecenatiani
Horti Liciniani Nymphaeum
Horti Tauriani
Horti Aciliorum
Horti Caesaris
Horti Pompeiani
Horti Domitiae
Horti Agrippinae
Horti Luculliani
Horti Pallantiani
Horti Spei Veteris
Horti Mediani
Horti Lolliani
Horti Variani
Horti Torquatiani

FOREWORD

THE present work might be described as a history of the mediæval Popes, with the history of the city of Rome, and of its civilisation, as a background, the author's desire being so to combine the two stories as to produce a true picture of what Rome was in the Middle Ages. There can, of course, be no doubt that Rome as a city falls far short of Rome as the embodiment of Papal power, and that, with all its monuments and institutions, the city of Rome is but little in comparison with the Papacy, to which indeed it owed all the pre-eminence which it possessed in mediæval days. The two aspects of the city are, however, connected so closely that, without injustice to both, it is not possible to consider one to the exclusion of the other. On the one hand the history of the Popes can be known but imperfectly so long as we lack acquaintance with the locality in which their activity was chiefly manifest, and with the See divinely appointed to be their headquarters. On the other hand it would be no less impossible to understand the powerful attraction exercised on the mediæval world by this one city unless we recognised the sovereign power wielded throughout the world by the occupant of this See.

Though it is true that the history of the Papacy, in intrinsic importance, stands far above that of the city of Rome, we have deemed it better to give a large amount of space to the consideration of the latter. Our reason for this was twofold: first, unfortunately there exists as yet no complete and trustworthy work describing the organisation of mediæval Rome, *i.e.* no history which takes into account that inner side of Rome's life which those who are outside the fold seem constitutionally unable to appreciate at all fully, but in which lies the only clue to the understanding of many great events of outward

history. A second reason which has prompted us to deal at considerable length with the city of Rome is the great and unlooked for accession to our knowledge of the city which recent years have brought. The extensive excavations of the last forty years have enabled us to form a far more correct idea than hitherto of the ancient classic city, and of the decay, transformation, and destruction of its monuments for which the Middle Ages were responsible. Apart from the excavations, modern scientific research has resulted in the publication of a multitude of new sources derived from the Papal archives and elsewhere. We have now at our disposal the Registers of the Popes, of which the edition was begun by Jaffé; the studies of Duchesne and Mommsen on the *Liber Pontificalis;* the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica;* the works of Lanciani and of the Roman Archæological Commission; those of Hülsen and the German Institute at Rome; those of the Società romana di storia patria; above all, we have the epoch-making researches of de Rossi on the Christian monuments and inscriptions of the city. From all these quarters so much new information has come to hand that even the once exhaustive work of Ferdinand Gregorovius ("History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages"), must now be considered as in many respects out of date. Many parts of the last-mentioned work retain, of course, their value, nor is it likely that the well-known and elegantly-written passages which it is usual to allege either for or against the Papacy will cease to do the rounds of the press. Those, however, who seek in the work of Gregorovius for expert information on the history of the Papacy, or even on that of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages, will soon find that the work in question, begun in the fifties of last century, and little emended in subsequent editions, is often of small use. The author, moreover, on his own confession, wrote his history for the purpose of promoting the ideas of the United Italian Party. The conception of the Church Catholic, *i.e.* the idea which should have been fundamental to his work, seems never to have been present to his mind.

For our part, in undertaking the great task of writing a history of Rome in the Middle Ages, we are conscious of no bias or prejudice whatever. Animated by the warmest admiration for the Christian past and for historical truth, we are resolved to do our duty by keeping to facts, and by not dismissing in silence even such details as may seem unpleasant or to our disadvantage. Neither the friends of New Italy, nor the advocates of the older order of things, will find in the present work any attempt to use the materials with which we deal to party purposes, or as a pretext for trenching on the so-called Roman Question. The reader may draw the inferences he deems justified; to our mind such considerations are no part of the historian's business, whose mind they would only tend to prejudice. If we succeed in supplying readers, who have a loving for Rome's greatness as displayed in her monuments and history, with an account at once vivid and instructing of the development of the city and progress of the Papacy during the centuries of the Middle Ages, then our aim will be attained.

It is scarcely necessary to insist on the advantage of studying the history of Rome from the centre whence the clearest view of the whole can be obtained, *i.e.* from that city of Rome itself against whose battlements the age-long Tempests of the Nations broke, but whose gates remained ever open to console, befriend, and protect devout pilgrims, persecuted refugees, and penitent sinners of every clime.

At the present day increased facility for travelling has made Rome the resort of thousands. Over and over again, during our long sojourn in the city, the sight of visitors and pilgrims from our northern home has led us to sigh for a work which might serve them as a mentor in the day when they wish to recall at leisure all they had witnessed during their stay in the Eternal City. For their sake, and for that of all educated people, even of those who have never set foot in Rome, this work is written, not only that they may the better know the monuments of ancient heathenism and rising Christianity, but

that the position and aim of the mediæval Papacy may be made clearer.

Amidst the wealth of material at our disposal we have had perforce to make a selection, especially in that bearing on the general history of the Popes in the Middle Ages, for to have incorporated it bodily would have involved the writing of a complete world-history of the period.

The present work will consist (in the German) of six volumes. Vol. I. will deal with Rome at the end of the ancient world, *i.e.* the period from the fourth to the sixth century; Vol. II. will begin with St. Gregory the Great and end with the advent of the Carolings; Vol. III. will carry the work to the beginning of the Investiture contest under Gregory VII.; Vol. IV. will describe the Papacy at the height of its power, from the time of Gregory VII. to the fall of the Staufen dynasty; Vol. V. will deal with the fortunes of the city and Papacy to the end of the Babylonian Captivity; lastly, Vol. VI. will continue the history to the Popes of the Renaissance, *i.e.* to the point where Ludwig Pastor, the author's friend and colleague at Innsbruck, begins his "History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages." The first volume is divided into five unequal parts: (1) Rome at the time of the extinction of Heathenism; (2) Rome and the Popes during the Gothic domination in Italy; (3) Rome, Byzantium, and the Ostrogoths at the time of the revival of the Empire in Italy; (4) Rome under Narses and in the early period of the Exarchate; (5) Progressive decline in civil order and in culture.

Simultaneously with the appearance of the first volume of this work, there was published in Italian (Rome, Desclée & Lefebvre, 1899) the first vol. of our *Analecta Romana* (pp. xxi+700). This latter work is intended to supplement in certain points the present history.

NOTE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

For greater convenience the bulky first volume of the German original has been split into three volumes in this Translation; but, to facilitate reference and comparison, the sections throughout the series will be numbered consecutively as in the original.

Some of the Illustrations have been printed apart; and, at the author's request, use has been made of his corrections and supplementary notes to the French edition.

The sense of the abbreviations will, we trust, be sufficiently obvious. *Acta SS.* stands for the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists; *P.L.* refers to the Latin Patrology of Migne; and *P.G.* to the Greek. The small numeral occasionally placed after a name or title indicates the edition cited.

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ROME AT THE CLOSE OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

I.—ROME AT THE TIME OF THE EXTINCTION OF HEATHENISM

HISTORY OF ROME AND THE POPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

LAST REVIVAL OF PAGANISM IN ROME

The Final Struggle with the Heathen Party in 394

1. TOWARDS the end of the fourth century, thirty years after the death of Julian the Apostate, the final struggle between Paganism and Christianity in Rome was fought out. The sanguinary defeat inflicted upon the usurper Eugenius in 394 by Theodosius the Great, together with the humiliating collapse of recently revived Pagan worship in Rome, set seal to the definitive triumph of Christianity as the State religion of the Western Empire.

A murderer's hand had struck down the Emperor Valentinian II., who governed this Western Empire as co-regent with Theodosius, Emperor of the East. Valentinian's commander-in-chief, a heathen Frank named Arbogast, was responsible for the crime, but he placed the ill-gotten crown on the head of **Eugenius,** a mere upstart, formerly a rhetorician. Eugenius had received Christian baptism, but ambition led him to join the powerful heathen party. He rewarded their homage by restoring all property confiscated from their temples to the leaders of the Pagan movement. Ambrose, the famous Bishop of Milan, vainly remonstrated against wasting idle and impious effort to restore effete idol-worship, and even forbade Eugenius (reckless and determined on making war against Theodosius) to take part in Christian services at Milan. No one listened to his voice.

The moving spirit in Eugenius's hazardous military enterprise was the heathen Prætorian Prefect, **Flavian Nichomachus.** He not only placed his vast province at the disposal of the usurper—this embraced Illyricum and North Africa, as well as Italy—but also promised him the help and protection of all the Roman deities.

Flavian was fanatically devoted to the almost extinct worship of the gods. In common with the Pagan party in the Senate, of which he was the leader, he believed that the security of the Roman State depended upon the continued practice of their time-honoured religion. This was why, previously, he had passionately combated Gratian's edict of 382, forbidding heathen sacrifices to be officially offered. Being also an expert augur, he now announced a decisive victory over Theodosius and his Christian standard to his favourite Eugenius advancing at the head of an imposing force. With this infallible triumph a new era of service of the gods and Imperial grandeur would begin. In Rome Flavian was supported by powerful friends, some counting upon victory, some brooding over revenge. In the city he risked incredible efforts. It is only lately, through the discovery of contemporary records, that we have learnt the details of those events in Rome. These show how that historic moment was scarcely less decisive for the two sharply opposed religions than that of the struggle between the heathen Maxentius and his adversary Constantine the Great.[1]

2. By Flavian's direction numerous sacrifices were offered. Long closed shrines and temples were again thrown open, and once more smoke rose from their altars in the Eternal City. High officers of State assembled round the delighted officiating priests. Flavian himself, in full pontificals, led the procession of Isis, sadly seeking Osiris through the city. The high mysteries of Cybele, the great mother of the gods, were celebrated with all customary orgies. Before every one, Flavian submitted to the Taurobolium, and he declared, after the bull's blood had gushed over him, that he was for twenty years more thoroughly purified than by any Christian baptism. Next followed the festival of Mithra, in which the Oriental character of latter-day Roman idol-worship was still more vividly displayed to the astonished citizens.

[1] These records exist in an anonymous Latin poem against Flavian, preserved in a manuscript of Prudentius (Biblioth. Nat. Lat., Paris, 8084), belonging to the fifth or sixth century. This was first published in its entirety by Delisle in 1867 in the *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* (6 sér., III., p. 297). In 1868 it was discussed by Ch. Morel in the *Revue archéologique* (t. XVII., p. 451 ff.; XVIII., p. 44 ff.). The subject is better handled by de Rossi in the *Bullettino di archeol. crist.*, 1868, p. 49 ff. and 61 ff. New and accurate editions have been given by Mommsen (*Hermes*, t. 4, 1870, p. 354 ff.), and by Bährens in his *Poetae lat. min.*, III., 1881, p. 286 ff. Cp. EBERT, *Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd ed., I., p. 312 ff.; French trans. by AYMERIC and CONDAMIN (1883), p. 336; SEEFELDER, *Über das Carmen adv. Flavianum* (Gmünd, 1901).

Beyond all this the fanatical Prefect and Pontiff had recourse to an ancient rite which Rome had probably never witnessed since the days of the Emperor Aurelian. It seemed as if he wanted to exasperate the Christian inhabitants, though they were already in the majority. He organised a solemn three months' purification of the city, which, according to him, had been so terribly polluted by Christianity as to render expiation imperative. This *lustrum* or amburbal sacrifice, with official *iustitium* (suspension of all public business and closure of Law Courts), was solemnly proclaimed to the Roman people, and then began constantly recurring processions, accompanied by besprinklings of the city walls.

But though anxious to pacify the irate gods, and to secure their protection for the city, this was not Flavian's sole preoccupation. He also began to fortify both the town and the ramparts. The Aurelian Wall encircling the city was weak and defective at many points, and had not yet undergone the restorations and improvements effected by the Emperor Honorius somewhat later. The most urgent repairs were carried out in hot haste.

This rapid work of fortification often led to high-handed action and to many arbitrary expropriations, making fresh enemies for Flavian. He became unpopular among people who were in no way offended by his religious zeal. On the other hand, he gained many adherents through the apostasy of several previously professing Christians of high rank and influence. Thus from a recently discovered document we learn that a certain Hierius was among those whom Flavian induced to join his active propaganda, allowing himself to be initiated into Mithraic rites. This was probably the famous rhetor and philosopher Hierius, to whom St. Augustine dedicated his early essay, *De pulchro et apto.* Leucadius and Marcianus were also apostates. Flavian rewarded their defection by raising both to still more exalted positions.

Several distinguished Romans who had remained faithful to Paganism now developed fresh enthusiasm, and came forth with donations for the support of Pagan ritual. Among these was Symmachus the Younger, son of the celebrated Quintus Aurelius Symmachus. In the midst of those troublous times he restored a temple to the goddess Flora at his own expense.[1] Choosing this temple was hardly to the credit of Paganism, for scarcely any

[1] Hülsen locates this temple near the Barberini Palace.

other heathen rites in ancient Rome were marked by such unbridled licence as those of the Sabine goddess Flora.

Ill. 1.—Theodosius the Great.
Bronze colossus at Barletta.

On the Arch of Constantine the first Christian Emperor is headless. It seems probable that the mutilation dates from this period of excitement. It could scarcely be due to the Christians of a later epoch; moreover, the position of the statue must have rendered the deed very difficult.[1]

In view of this unexpected turn of affairs, Christians naturally prepared themselves for active persecution, and anxiously repeated among themselves the threat uttered to St. Ambrose at Milan by Arbogast and the usurper Eugenius. They had announced that as soon as they returned from defeating the advancing forces of Theodosius, they meant to turn the churches of Milan into stables, and to enroll all the clergy, without distinction, among their soldiery.

3. Towards the close of spring, 394, the **Emperor Theodosius** started for the Alps with troops from the Eastern Empire and Gothic mercenaries.

Though his forces were numerically inferior to those of his rival Eugenius, the Christian leader confidently relied on defeating his opponent with the help of the True God. Constan-

[1] Cp. our Ill. 25 with that in Lanciani's *Ruins and Excavations* (London, 1897), p. 259.

tine's Labarum, with the Monogram of Christ, was borne aloft before his legions. Theodosius[1] entered upon the campaign in both a military and a religious spirit; he had at heart the defence of his crown, but also the defence of the Christian religion.

The pious monarch gave expression to this feeling in words addressed to his Generals and preserved to us by Theodoret. He saw that they were alarmed by the enemy's preponderating force, but he said to them: "We should not offer such insult to the Cross of Christ as to fancy it has no power. Still less ought we to let ourselves be frightened by an image of Hercules. Well, then! the Cross goes before us; may the image of Hercules be the enemy's best protection!"[2]

As a fact, Eugenius had had pictures of *Hercules invictus* attached to his ensigns.

Flavian arrived from Rome in the camp of the usurping Emperor, in order, as a special expert, to organise propitiatory heathen services. All along the threatened Alpine passes he placed statues of Jupiter brandishing golden thunderbolts with his right arm raised against the enemy. He made choice of *Iupiter latialis* for this purpose, since all were convinced that he had abandoned the State to destruction in revenge for neglect of his shrine on the Alban Mount, formerly the thronged sanctuary of the Latin League, but now utterly deserted.

Thanks to strategy and promptitude, Theodosius quickly carried the passes of the Julian Alps. Flavian took part in the first encounters and learnt too late, through his own death, that he had been over-confident. He might have sought safety in flight, but he either destroyed himself in his distress, or else gave himself up voluntarily to the enraged soldiery; he paid the penalty of his fanaticism just when his presence seemed most wanted. Each and all of the precious Jupiters fell into the hands of the scoffing foe. So far from hurting any one, the thunderbolts brought wealth to the harbingers of victory, who had promptly carried them to Theodosius. They laughingly begged him to send such thunderbolts among them, and were told they might keep them altogether.

[1] We reproduce (p. 4, Ill. 1) the bronze colossal statue of Theodosius at Barletta, after Baumeister in *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, III., 1763, Pl. 1846; the lower part of the figure and the Labarum have been restored from a coin of the same Emperor (ibid., Pl. 1845).

[2] *Hist. eccl.*, V., c. 24.

As soon as the Theodosian army had descended into the plain, a decisive battle ensued. It was fought near **Aquileia** on September 5, 394. The engagement, on the part of Eugenius, was preceded by pompous Pagan ceremonies. Theodosius began by prayer to the God of the Christian realm. Augurs still so positively foretold victory to Eugenius that up to the last moment, ancient eye-witnesses tell us, his dominant preoccupation was how to dispose of Theodosius, after he had been taken prisoner. But the fates were against him. The troops of Theodosius, though at first repulsed, gained a brilliant victory, strikingly furthered by both wind and weather. The heathen writer Zosimus, as well as Christian authorities, describe natural phenomena which visibly aided the Emperor. Eugenius was taken prisoner during the engagement and put to death.

Thus the dark shadow of that short but dangerous rival-empire was dispersed. The great event of a single one-day battle decided for all time the religious fate of Italy and Rome.[1]

4. Directly after this surprising result Theodosius proceeded to Rome. Doubtless the grateful citizens welcomed him with enthusiasm and every demonstration of delight when he appeared in the ancient city of the Tiber. The only detail, however, which has come down to us is that Theodosius called the Senate together, and urged them to unanimous adoption of the Christian religion. It is added that the well-meant words of their ruler were received with loud applause by the assembly, and the majority consented to recognise Christianity as the State religion; only a stubborn minority refused adherence to this resolution.[2]

The Christian poet **Prudentius,** a contemporary of these events, gives us a poetic sketch of the Emperor as he thus addresses the Senate and the city: "All that the earth contains is subject to Thee, O Rome! Such is God's Will, who made Thee Mistress of the World. Thou must not degrade Thyself

[1] For further details of this battle and subsequent events in Rome, see TILLEMONT, *Histoire des Empereurs*, V., p. 766. The heathen poet Claudian describes the end of Eugenius in forcible language in the panegyric *De quarto consulatu Honorii*, v. 87, ed. BIRT (*Mon. Germ. hist., auct. ant.*, X., 2), p. 153. The Church Father, St. Augustine, mentions the bestowal of these thunderbolts in his *De civitate Dei*, V., c. 26.

[2] PRUDENTIUS, *Contra Symmachum*, I., v. 410 ff. and 593, DRESSEL'S ed., p. 235, 244. ZOSIMUS, *Hist.*, IV., c. 59, ed. J. BEKKER (*Corpus Script. hist. byzant.*), p. 245. THEODORET, *Hist. eccles.*, V., c. 23. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di archeol. cristiana*, 1868, p. 70; see V. SCHULTZE, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griech.-röm. Heidenthums* (Jena, 1887), I., p. 294–295.

to the dust by worshipping earthly idols. A Queen, like Thee, ought no longer to bow down before these worm-eaten monsters. . . . Thou hast instructed all Nations and given them Laws, and I cannot consent that under my sway Thou shouldst lower Thyself to the level of barbarians through the debasing worship of false gods. Recognise the glorious symbol on my ensign!—The Cross through which Constantine conquered. Submit to the revealed Power of God; give up superstitious and childish heathen rites, and let the sites of their service at last stand forsaken."[1]

Prudentius in forcible language continues to celebrate this complete revulsion of sentiment in Rome, taking place almost before his eyes. "Rome reddens," he exclaims, "over her own decadence; over her delusions throughout past ages. The City is seized with remorse for the blood of her many Martyrs. Now she seeks to make atonement in Prayer before the thousands of graves surrounding her walls. Rome has embraced the Truth of Christ with her whole heart." "Even Marius," he cries, "after the subjugation of Jugurtha, celebrated no such triumph as Theodosius! He has led the City to never-ending Power,[2] and to an Empire in which Rome will truly never age, but rather renew her youth."[3] "Peep into the Senate-Hall," he continues, "and see how few there still love darkness in days when the Sun of Faith already stands high in the Heavens! Look among the people, how rare are those who do not turn away in disgust from the polluted altar of Jove!"

5. This violent reaction in public affairs does not seem to have been accompanied by any popular tumult in the city. Theodosius had taken suitable precautions. He had at once appointed Fabius Pasifilus as temporary Prætorian Prefect, and also as City Prefect. Though Paganism had assumed such offensive form in Rome, we do not hear of any vengeful measures having followed the triumph of the Christian forces, save the throwing down of Flavian's statue. Even this was less the work of the Christian party than of Flavian's political opponents, who

[1] PRUDENTIUS, ibid., v. 427, 455, 465, 500.

[2] In this passage Prudentius quotes almost literally (v. 542, DRESSEL'S ed., p. 241) Virgil's well-known prophecy (*Æneid*, I., v. 279): "*His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono.* | **Imperium sine fine** *dedi.*"

[3] "*Tunc primum senio docilis sua saecula Roma* | *Erubuit. Pudet exacti iam temporis, odit* | *Praeteritos foedis cum relligionibus annos.* | *Mox ubi contiguos fossis muralibus agros* | *Sanguine iustorum innocuo maduisse recordans,* | *Invidiosa videt tumulorum millia circum* | *Tristis iudicii mage paenitet*," &c. Ibid., v. 511 ff., 542, 575, 580.

had been dissatisfied with his government as Prefect, or else envious of his overwhelming political influence. After some time, in 431, this statue was again set up in Trajan's Forum by the Imperial grandsons of Theodosius. Its pedestal was dug up there in 1849, in front of the Basilica Ulpia. Engraved upon it we read an address which the above-named Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. wrote to the Senate on the occasion of the "restoration of Flavian's memorial," as desired by certain of his party. In this they bear witness that Theodosius, in presence of the Senators, had already expressed regret for Flavian's untimely end.[1]

Theodosius had, in fact, been quite prepared to accord him full pardon, just as he had pardoned all other ringleaders of the revolt by advice of the great Ambrose. The Emperor and the bishops did all they could to win the recalcitrant Pagans by kindness. It was by such gentle measures that the Christian victors manifested their moral supremacy.

This moderation finds expression in many different contemporary opinions concerning the Prefect Flavian. The ecclesiastical writer Rufinus mentions him as a highly talented but misguided man, who only deserved to be pitied."[2]

Another view is certainly taken in some spiteful satirical verses relative to this restorer of Paganism and his tragic end. They are the work of the same anonymous author whose recently discovered records enabled us to describe these events in the city. His poem is written in barbarous Latin and with total disregard of metre. An early copyist attached the poetical effusion to the famous Paris MS. of Prudentius's poem against the Pagan Symmachus, not on account of any literary merit of its own, but because it treated the same subject as Prudentius's work. Any way it gives a graphic memento of those agitated days in Rome.[3]

[1] *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1783, the *restitutio honoris* to Flavian. Cp. de Rossi's Commentary on the inscription (with illustration) in the *Annali dell' istit. archeol.*, 1849, p. 285, &c., Pl. L.

[2] *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 33.

[3] See above, p. 2, note 1. Among other things, the author ridicules Flavian for taking part in the worship of Isis with his shorn pate (v. 98 ff., ed. BÄHRENS): "*Quis te plangentem non risit, calvus ad aras | Sistriferam Fariam supplex cum forte rogares?*" And previously (v. 95, &c.), speaking of his invocation of the Son of Osiris and Isis, as well as of other gods, he says: "*Quid tibi sacrato placuit latrator Anubis? | Quid miseranda Ceres mater, Proserpina subter? | Quid tibi Vulcanus claudus, pede debilis uno?*"

6. The Emperor **Theodosius** died in Milan at the beginning of the following year, 395. He was the last Emperor uniting the whole Roman Empire under one sceptre. His personal gifts, his political insight and military genius, as well as his religious sentiments and wise protection of Christianity—in which he recognised the future of the world—all made Theodosius the Great a fitting head of the Empire. His guiding principle was the idea expressed by St. Ambrose: "The general welfare can only gain firm footing where each one sincerely worships the True God, the Christian God, the Sole Ruler of the Universe."[1]

When the young son of Theodosius, Honorius, took possession of the western portion of the Roman Empire, under the guardianship of the powerful General Stilicho and St. Ambrose, Paganism had already entirely forfeited its official position, Theodosius's memorable edict (of 391) against idolatry being already in full force, both in Italy and Rome. The late Emperor had thereby forbidden all sacrifices to idols, even such as private persons wished to offer in their own homes. He had further attached penalties to merely visiting heathen shrines.[2]

At this point it is worth while to glance back at the position previously held by Paganism in Rome during the course of the fourth century.

7. The first **laws against Pagan worship** promulgated during the Constantinian period were very little, if at all, observed in the capital of the Western Empire. This is proved by a whole series of recently unearthed inscriptions bearing far clearer witness to facts than the writings of early authors. They allude to the erection of altars and statues to the gods; to festivals, offerings, and public solemnities of an idolatrous character, as not only usual, but quite legally accepted matters. Down to the year 391, epigraphs frequently mention the names of many public promoters of Paganism. Among them are Roman patricians and senators such as Clodius Hermogenianus Caesarius, Coelius Hilarianus, Quintus Clodius Flavianus, Lucius Ragonius Venustus, Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus, Petronius Apollodorus, Sextilius

[1] *Epist.*, I., 17, *ad Valentinianum imperatorem*, n. 1 (Migne, *P. L.*, XVI., col. 961). Cp. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter Theodosius dem Grossen*, 1897; ALLARD, *Le christianisme et l'Empire romain*, 1897.

[2] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., tit. 10, n. 10; "*nemo se hostiis polluat, nemo insontem victimam caedat, nemo delubra adeat*," &c. (ed. GOTHOFREDUS, VI., 306); ed. MOMMSEN and MEYER, 1905, p. 899. Cp. SCHULTZE, I., p. 276.

Agesilaus Edesius, Nonius Victor Olympius, Aurelius Victor Augentius, and other *viri clarissimi*.[1]

We cannot point with certainty to any law threatening idolatry by Constantine himself. A decree of the Emperor Constans in 341 had expressly stated that superstition must cease, and that the folly of sacrificing to the gods would henceforth be subject to penalties, and the Emperor Constantius in 353 had also commanded the closure of all heathen temples, even threatening, in his zeal, to punish with death any sacrifice to idols.[2]

But it was easier to promulgate than to enforce these laws; in fact, the total unsuitability of such harsh and hasty measures was obvious. In Rome especially, far stronger, though hidden, forces had to be at work before one could hope for any general results. Moreover the dignity of the State would suffer through ill-success. Indeed, one example occurred, when the Emperor Constans had the altar and statue of Victory removed from the Senate Hall, to which, after a short interval, they were triumphantly restored.[3]

Next came the days of Julian the Apostate, during which, of course, these enactments lost all force. It was then that Vettius Agorius Prætextatus seized upon the long-sought opportunity for bringing himself and his party into notice in Rome as restorers of the decadent worship of the gods. The name of Prætextatus, as well as that of the cultured rhetorician Symmachus, will be for ever associated with the death-throes of heathenism. After Julian the Apostate's short reign of barely two years, Valentinian I. did nothing to suppress this superficial recrudescence of idolatry. It was not until the reign of Gratian that stronger measures were enforced.[4]

What most hindered the prompt spread of Christianity was not so much the liberty left to expiring heathen ritual, as a reform of Paganism itself, initiated by several very distinguished men. Many were deceived by this species of spiritual revival of the ancient rites. The penetration of Neo-Platonic philosophy into the early myths, the veiling of mythology with symbolic

[1] Cp. LANCIANI in his *Notizie degli scavi*, 1883, p. 481.

[2] Constans in the *Codex Theod.*, l. XVI., tit. 10, No. 2, p. 289; ed. GOTHOFREDUS, p. 289; ed. MOMMSEN and MEYER, p. 897.

[3] Ibid., No. 4, ed. GOTHOFREDUS, p. 294; ed. MOMMSEN and MEYER, p. 898.

[4] For the steps taken by Gratian, see Zosimus, IV., 36. Cp. WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 1902, p. 86 ff. (*Handbuch der klass. Alterthumswiss.* Edited by I. MÜLLER, V., 4).

glamour, the propagation of attractive Oriental mysteries, fostering sensuality and vice—these were all circumstances which kept many minds in bondage to the enslaving influence of heathen superstition.

The Emperor Gratian's edict of 382 at last marked decided progress. It struck boldly at the material basis of the Old Religion, deprived heathen priests of their privileges, and devoted temple property to other public purposes, thus terminating all official share in the sacrifices. The ancient religious worship might still be practised both secretly and openly at private expense. Inscriptions of this date again contain frequent public notices of dedications and Pagan religious festivals. Many leaders of the heathen movement appear by their offerings and foundations to have wished to prove ostentatiously to all time that the worship of the gods, though abandoned by the State, was well able to maintain itself unaided. Moreover a strong party in the Senate took every occasion to work against Gratian's Law.

It is well known that the altar of Victory was the solemn centre round which the Irreconcilables rallied in Rome. An account of the great controversy between Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the learned St. Ambrose of Milan touching this *Victoria* would here be out of place. One point only is of special importance to us for comprehending the position of Paganism in the Rome of that day. For Symmachus and his Senatorial party the question at issue was not so much to obtain authorisation for the retention of the statue of Victory in the Senate House; their evident intention was to try and once more institute State sacrifices to idols in general. The Pagan party demanded that this attitude of the State towards heathenism should be emphasised by restoring public subsidies and privileges not only to their cherished goddess of Imperial Victory, but also to the whole scattered family of the gods. Neither Gratian nor his successor Valentinian would listen to these demands, though they were the object of several embassies; *Victoria* remained excluded from the most sacred centre of the State; no more public sacrifices to idols took place in the name of the Government, and finally all Christian Emperors significantly refused the title of *Pontifex maximus*, after Gratian had set the example about 375.[1]

[1] MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 3rd ed., v. II., p. 1108, n. 5.

Thus the hostile and repressive attitude adopted towards idolatry by the Government helped to pave the way for the Church's triumph even before Theodosius and his victory over his heathen rival Eugenius. But upon the Church herself, as the sole power appointed for the purpose, the far more difficult task devolved of eliminating heathen ideas from the hearts and habits of her converts, through the quiet force of Gospel preaching, through the influence of her special means of grace, through the example of her followers' Christian conduct, and through the learning and wisdom of her advocates.

The Fate of Pagan Rites in Rome

8. Before giving closer attention to the internal transformation of the Western Empire and its capital we must linger beside a few of the most celebrated shrines and monuments in the city, which are at the same time memorials of expiring Paganism. Traditions or inscriptions of monuments are often still to be found on or near the scene of their past history, and speak to us in forcible, eloquent language of the grand struggles of their day. Many of the great centres of heathen religion in the city of the Tiber at that period are still known to us. **Mithra worship** was particularly popular among Roman Pagans of the fourth century. Its fashionable votaries most frequently assembled in the Mithræum of the seventh city district, not far from the present church of San Silvestro in Capite, and in the Temple of Cybele, which stood on the site of Nero's Circus, left of the entrance to St. Peter's.

Several inscriptions of this Mithræum are known to us. The most important one was discovered only in 1867, almost undisturbed beneath the present Palazzo Marignoli. This made it evident that this grotto had been restored as a shrine of Mithra at the expense of a senator named Tamesius Augentius Olympius. He complacently harps upon the fact that these buildings had no need of any financial help from the State (*sumptus tuos nec Roma requirit!*). Many members of the noblest families sought admission to the service of the Persian deity. It is well known that Mithra was styled, in opposition to the Christian Saviour, Lord of the Living, Giver of Light, and Mediator between the Supreme God and the World. The worship of Mithra was in many ways

a distorted version and an aping of Christianity, so that even St. Augustine could make a priest of Mithra say, "Mithra himself is a Christian" (*ipse christianus est*).[1]

In the inscriptions six steps of initiation into the mysteries are mentioned, under the curious titles of *corax*, *cryphius*, *miles*, *perses*, *heliodromos*, and *pater*. St. Jerome mentions a seventh called *leo*.

There was also no lack of secondary shrines for Mithra-worship in Rome; we find them on the Capitol, at S. Martino ai Monti, in the Palace of the Nummi family in the present Via Firenze, at S. Vitale, on the Palatine above S. Teodoro, below S. Clemente, at S. Agata in the Subura, and on the Piazza of the Lateran. Moreover such shrines existed in the environs of Rome; for instance, at Ostia in the Palace of Lucilius Gamala, at Porto, Anzio, Colonna, Quadraro, Capena (Turrita); at Bolsena, Palestrina, Cività Lavinia, Vetralla, Velletri, and Terni.[2]

St. Jerome states that the City Prefect Gracchus (377), indignant at the superstitious and immoral rites involved in the worship of the invincible Sun-God Mithra (*deus sol invictus Mithras*), broke into a Mithræum—most likely the one belonging to the seventh district—and wrecked all the images it contained. Gracchus was a heathen, but he wished to qualify himself for Christian baptism by this act of violence, which stands alone in the history of Rome. The followers of Mithra, however, again made wide use of the freedom granted them, and continued their senseless rites.[3]

The other previously-mentioned centre of heathen worship was close to the much-frequented church of St. Peter. It was sacred to the service of Cybele, *mater magna deum*. During excavations in 1608 and 1609 inscriptions relating to *criobolia* and *taurobolia* were found there, extending from 305 to 390. Thus

[1] *In Joannem*, tr. VII., 6.

[2] Cp. with list of all monumental remains of Mithra-worship, so far known, in CUMONT, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (1896–1899, 2 vols.); cp. also Eng. Trans. *Mysteries of Mithra*, 1903. In Rome alone he enumerates 85 monuments relating to these rites. Among previous works we must cite DE ROSSI, *Bullett. di arch. crist.*, 1870, p. 167; MARUCCHI in the *Nuova Antologia*, v. LIII. (1885), p. 480 ff.: *Il culto mitriaco in Roma a proposito di una recente scoperta;* LOVATELLI in the *Bullett. della commiss. archeol. comunale di Roma*, 1892, p. 226 ff. (especially on Rome); EROLI, *Alcune prose*, I. (1885), p. 523 ff.: *Il dio Mitra a Terni* (with illus.).

[3] For references to Gracchus, see St. Jerome, *Ep.* 107 *ad Laetam*, No. 2: "*portentosa simulacra . . . subvertit*," &c. Cp. PRUDENT., *Contra Symmachum*, I., v. 561, &c.: "(*Gracchos*) *iure potestatis fultos . . . simulacra deum iussisse revelli.*"

towards the end of the fourth century, we still have evidence of the persistence of these sanguinary rites. Owing to the Phrygian origin of the ritual observed, we have the name of *Frigianum* applied to these temples and grottoes in descriptions of this district dating from the fourth century.[1]

These inscriptions cast a curious light on the world-wide contrasts existing in the Rome of those days. At a period when people of all ranks flocked to the Christian fonts at St. Peter's, the Lateran and other churches; when the cosmopolitan city, as a whole, had submitted to the New Faith, these texts continued to speak with respect in the grand old classical language of the superstitions still practised in those half-buried temples by the highest in the land. They celebrate the "eternal regeneration" the Bull's blood procures, and the "Purification by the Most Holy Mysteries." They glorify the gods who have thereby become "Guardians of the Soul and Spirit of the Blessed," and extol the High Priest as "Father of Fathers," a title which will be borne throughout all time by the heads of a rival religion at the adjacent tomb of St. Peter.[2]

In those days religious titles abounded throughout the heathen world. Even after 383 the name of "priest of Vesta" is bestowed upon leading Romans. These vestal priests must have been the chief supporters of Pagan-worship in the ancient national shrine of the Eternal Fire on the Roman Forum.

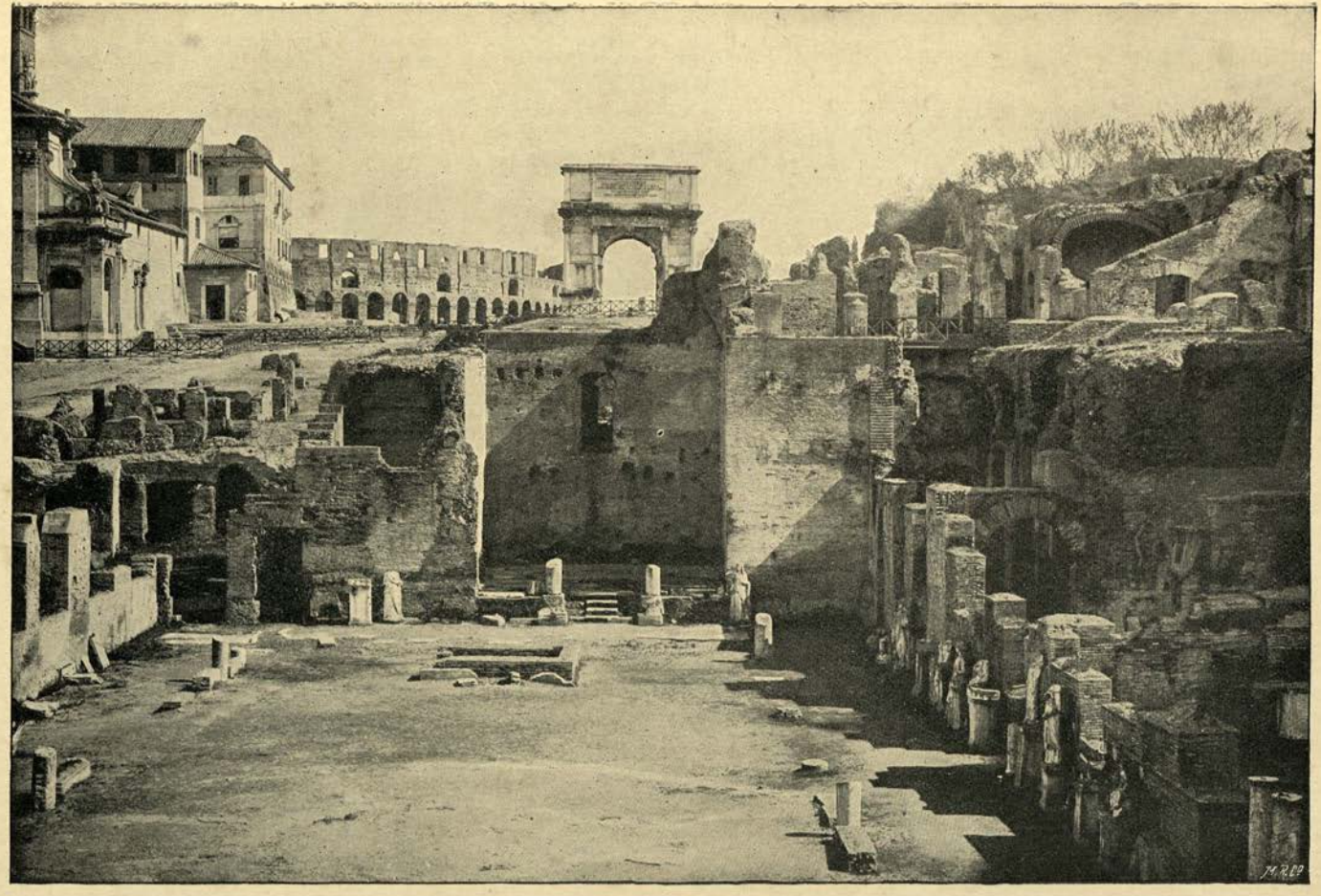
9. The **Atrium of Vesta**, on the Roman Forum, carries a modern visitor back to the latest period of Paganism, and was only excavated during the years 1883–1884 and 1901. The discovery of this famous Home of the Vestals, those virgin-votaries of the goddess worshipped both as Mother and Guardian of the Empire, has been one of the most important, if not quite the grandest, among the results of recent Roman searchings.

The Atrium of Vesta lies at the foot of the Palatine Hill, immediately beneath the majestic Imperial Palace (Ill. 2.).[3] In

[1] Inscriptions in the *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 497–504. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I., p. 120, 193, note 61; II., p. 563.

[2] LANCIANI in *Notizie degli scavi*, 1883, p. 481, from inscriptions subsequent to 350, printed in the *Corpus inscr. lat.*, t. VI., under the title: *Inscriptiones magistratuum post Diocletianum.* The title *in aeternum renatus* reminds us of Baptism; *delibutus sacratissimis mysteriis* correspond to the mystery of the Christian *initiatio;* the (*dii*) *animae suae mentisque custodes* might be compared to our guardian angels, and the *pater sacrorum* and *pater patrum* with the Bishop and Pope.

[3] Our engraving reproduces a photograph taken for this work by Carlo Tenerani. Our present work, as well as the subsequent volumes, owe their best and most modern



Ill. 2.—The Atrium of Vesta.

our illustration the Coliseum and the Arch of Titus are visible in the background. To the left, on the Via Sacra, the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the circular Temple of Romulus are standing to this day, though since early mediæval times they have been respectively transformed into the churches of San Lorenzo in Miranda and of SS. Cosmas and Damian. The Atrium of Vesta formed an elongated rectangle, and was connected with the Vesta Temple, of which the circular substructure is visible to a considerable height. The open court, or *Peristylium*, is surrounded by the rooms reserved for the Vestals, which can also be traced up to the second storey. On the eastern side-aisle of the court (see centre of our illustration) the Tablinum is entered, and it also is surrounded by dwelling-rooms. A double row of choice marble columns divides the grand forecourt lengthways, forming one broad central nave and two ambulatories. In the centre was a fountain surrounded by an octagonal wall, which can also still be recognised. Some authorities, however, think that this spot was the site of a building devoted to the custody of the Palladium and other jealously guarded pledges of the Empire's security; in any case, this sanctuary, called *penus Vestae*, was in the actual temple of the goddess. This court, formerly well supplied with water and ornamented by shrubs, was possibly a reminiscence of the Sacred Grove which formerly existed in the neighbourhood. The quadrangle, open to the sky, was enclosed by lofty buildings. In the lower rooms gorgeous marble and mosaic (*opus sectile*) pavements have been found, as well as baths and a kitchen with stove and leaden cistern. The Vestals, or those who inhabited these quarters after them, also left various earthenware or metal vases as well as a handmill in tufa stone.[1]

illustrations to the artistic and generous collaboration of this excellent authority on Roman monuments with his specially perfected apparatus. To the right, in the background, we see the substructures of the Palatine Palace; to the left, the church of Santa Francesca Romana (Santa Maria Nuova), occupying the site of the portico of the Temple of Venus and Roma.

[1] See in *Notizie degli scavi* (1883, p. 434 ff.) Lanciani's detailed account, which describes everything relating to the Vestals. See also LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome* (1888), p. 134 ff.; C. HÜLSEN, *Mittheilungen des archäologischen Institutes*, 1889, p. 232 ff., and the description he gives in his book, *Das Forum romanum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler* (Roma, 1904), No. xxxiii.; Italian translation, *Il foro romano* (Roma, 1905); MARUCCHI, *Nuova descrizione della casa delle Vestali secondo il risultato dei più recenti scavi* (Roma, 1887); JORDAN, *Der Tempel der Vesta*, &c. (Berlin, 1886); AUER, *Der Tempel der Vesta* (Wien, 1888), which appeared in the *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, philol. hist. Klasse*, XXXVI. (1888). Among the many works due to this discovery, those of NICHOLS, MIDDLETON, and DEHIO are of more general interest; see also THÉDENET, *Le Forum romain et les Forums impériaux*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1904). For plan, see Ill. 58.

A number of fairly well preserved statues of these Vestals, with and without inscriptions, remind us to this day of the magnificent series of statues representing the chief priestesses of Vesta (*Vestales maximae*) which graced the *Peristylium* in those distant times when no profane foot had as yet crossed its threshold. Up to the present time thirty-five inscriptions are known, bearing names of the heads of this college of priestesses. Of these, twenty-seven were found in the Atrium of Vesta itself. An official formula describes each Vestal honoured with a statue as "most holy and most pious" (*sanctissima et piissima*); their chastity is extolled, as well as their intelligent devotion to the complicated and minute duties associated with the service of the goddess.

Though the position of the **Vestals** had suffered from the public suppression of Paganism, it suddenly regained fresh importance at the accession of Julian the Apostate. The dreary halls of Vesta awoke to new life and hope when, during the reign of that ruler, the Pagan City Prefect, **Vettius Agorius Prætextatus,** became their zealous patron.

Prætextatus was himself a *pontifex Vestae*, for two inscriptions so describe him. On the Roman Forum his name may still be seen, in big capitals, above the portico of the "Twelve Gods," carrying us back to the tragic times of Julian the Apostate, and reminding us of his dedication of the portico of the twelve *dii consentes*, which he had restored.[1]

The grateful Vestals erected a statue to their benefactor in their own house. This was found with its inscription in 1883, when excavating the Atrium. The head, lying beside it, had been knocked off, but was evidently a speaking likeness. Much earlier, in 1591, the statue of Cœlia Concordia, a chief Vestal (*Vestalis maxima*), was dug up from the ruins of Prætextatus's own house on the Esquiline, in the present Via Merulana. The modern find stands in close connection with the older one, for the inscription under Cœlia Concordia's statue states that this had been erected by Prætextatus in recognition of the friendly courtesy with which the Vestals had accorded his statue a place in their Atrium. At the same time the memory of Concordia herself is extolled, together with her "perfect chastity and signal

[1] *Corpus inscript. lat.*, VI., No. 102.

piety in the service of the goddess."[1] By the side of these and similar eulogies on the Vestals, some remarks by St. Ambrose should be placed. In a letter to the Emperor Valentinian, this former courtier and keen observer of Roman life points out the deep-seated difference between Christian maidens and Vestal virgins—a contrast upon which many Christians could dwell with pride when passing the stately hall on the Forum. "Let the Vestal virgins," he says to the Emperor, "be rewarded by privileges from those who think that without payment no one could lead a virgin life. One must awaken the love of lucre when one has no confidence in virtue. And yet with all payment, with all privileges, how few maidens can Paganism collect. It can scarcely keep seven virgins together. That is the whole great flock who long to drape their heads with rich *infulae*, and go about in purple robes, borne upon litters and followed by a crowd of servants. Yet even these few, with all their wealth and splendour, need only accept the life of self-renunciation for a time, and not for ever. Then," continues Ambrose, "let us cast our eyes on the Christians and see what thousands—almost a whole nation—lead virgin lives and are attracted to this pitch of self-denial by the simple power of virtue. If we Christians wanted to secure Government pay and privileges for all these, there would be prompt danger of an empty exchequer."[2]

These words, written in 384, date from the period of the controversy between Ambrose and Symmachus concerning the withdrawal of all former State subsidies for the support of Pagan ritual.

10. As a community the Vestals could not long survive their loss of income and its consequences. Thanks to the liberality and refractoriness of the heathen nobility, they kept together for a time, apparently until the decisive date of 394; and it even seems as if, under Eugenius and the Prefect Flavian, their exalted position was momentarily restored. Those, however, were the last days during which the Temple of Vesta was illuminated by the sacred fire which was regarded by the authorities as a sign of the goddess's watchful protection over the city.

How anxiously within these now crumbled walls the last Vestal

[1] *Notizie degli scavi*, l.c., p. 455, 462; *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 2145: "*Propter egregiam eius pudicitiam insignemque circa cultum divinum sanctitatem.*" It is believed that Cœlia Concordia was the last but one of the *Vestales maximae*.

[2] *Ep.*, I., 18 *ad Valentinianum imp.*, No. 11 (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, XVI., col. 975).

Virgins must have watched the various phases of the final struggle between Theodosius and his heathen opponent! By the time the first messengers with the tidings of a Christian victory at Aquileia reached Rome, they doubtless had found time enough to bury or remove the Palladium and other sacred objects, and also to quit, unmolested, what had been the site of Vestal service during eleven hundred years. Recent searches among the remains of their dwelling show no trace of violent disturbance, still less of an attack by the populace. Throughout, monuments were found standing where they had originally been erected. Only mediæval times wrought alteration and injury.

Of course, after the Vestals had disappeared, no one could prevent Christian curiosity from penetrating their closely guarded precincts. Such visitors could but rejoice that at last ancient delusions had so entirely vanished from the spot which past ages had revered as the most sacred centre of the heathen world. They would observe and read with some amusement the grandiloquent panegyrics upon the *Vestales maximae* which were inscribed at the base of the statues ranged around the marble walls. Among these rows of wonderful young women a certain Flavia Publicia must have excited special attention. She lived in the middle of the third century, and no less than seven statues bear her name. Five were discovered undisturbed in 1883. They had all been erected as tokens of gratitude by dependents of the rich and powerful chief priestess. Flavia Publicia is extolled under all possible titles. According to these inscriptions the goddess herself, the most Holy Mother Vesta, had "recognised her exceptional devotion," while the Roman State is "conscious of the benefits daily resulting to it from her zeal in the service of its guardian."[1]

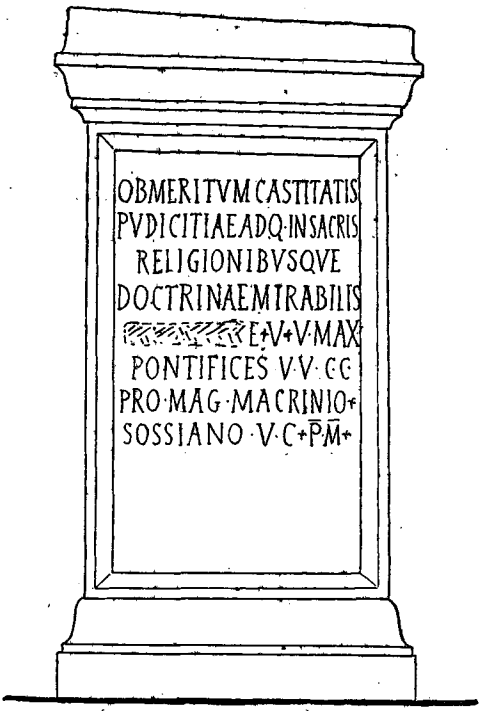
Those, however, who first entered the abode of the Vestals would also at once remark a monument to a *Vestalis maxima* who had forfeited her high estate. The name of this priestess had been deleted from the inscription upon her pedestal (Ill. 4).[2] When this pedestal came to light during the excavations of 1883, it became clear that the statue had been erected in 364, but the

[1] *Notizie degli scavi*, 1883, p. 451, No. 5: "... *cuius sanctissimam et religiosam curam sacrorum, quam per omnes gradus sacerdotii laudabili administratione operatur, numen sanctissimae Vestae matris comprobavit*," &c.; ibid., p. 452, No. 6: "... *cuius in sacris peritissimam operationem merito respublica in dies feliciter sentit.*"

[2] Sketch taken from the original; the date is fixed by the dedicatory inscription on one side.

Ill. 3.—Statue of the Vestal Flavia Publicia
(From Lanciani's *Ancient Rome*, p. 141).

name of the priestess and her crime remained obscure. All pointed, however, to the conclusion that the Vestal had embraced Christianity, and thereby, incurred the penalty of *damnatio memoriae* by the College.[1] Only conversion, or an infraction of her vow could be the reason for thus removing her name. Now we have no record during the last days of Vesta worship that any of the Vestals, and especially no chief priestess, had offended against their moral law. Had such a fact occurred it would infallibly have been reported and made much of by Christian opponents of Paganism. On the other hand, authorities do actually allude to the conversion of a Vestal Virgin to the Christian faith. Prudentius introduces us to this Vestal, named Claudia, who, as a Christian, was the pride of the faithful in Rome, and he describes the scene where she enters the Basilica of St. Lawrence the Martyr. Perhaps Claudia may have retired to the nunnery for Christian virgins already established near the Basilica.[2]



Ill. 4.—Pedestal of the Statue of a (Convert) Vestal found in the Atrium of Vesta.
The name has been erased. New drawing from the original.

In painful contrast to this convert stands the blear-eyed, grey-haired Vestal whose memory has been preserved by the heathen Zosimus. Heaving deep sighs, she wanders up and down through the deserted halls beneath the Palatine. Having espied

[1] For inscription, see *Notizie degli scavi*, 1883, p. 454, No. 13.

[2] Marucchi, *Casa delle Vestali*, p. 80, and *Nuovo Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1899, p. 199 ff., specially pp. 203, 211, No. 1; Lanciani, in his *Notizie degli scavi*, l.c.; Hülsen, *Forum*, No. XXXIII.; Prudentius, *Peristephanon*, hymn. II., v. 511, 529, ed. Dressel, p. 328, 329. Latest research has revealed a headless statue in front of this pedestal, which has induced Marucchi, in the *Nuovo bullettino di archeologia crist.*, 1899, p. 199 ff., to develop the hypothesis he advanced in his *Casa delle Vestali*. He thinks he can trace CLAVDIAE in the name scratched out, though only E remains; the vacant space seems to correspond fairly well.

Serena, the wife of Stilicho, taking the gold ornaments from a statue of Rhea, she calls down shrill curses upon the sacrilegious act, praying for the wrath of the gods to overtake an age which desecrates both their temples and their statues.[1]

The Fate of the Roman Temples

11. The fate of the heathen temples and statues in Rome at the time of this epoch-making revolution has often been quite wrongly represented. It is decidedly untrue that the temples were then either destroyed or else at once handed over to Christian worship; neither were the statues of the various gods overthrown.

Any one demanding destruction of the **Temples** in those days would simply have wished to turn the city itself into one vast pile of ruins, they were so numerous and vast both in extent and proportions. Had they been even offered to the Christians, the latter would have been much embarrassed by such gifts. Christians were already well provided with basilicas, which met the requirements of their new service much better than the elaborate temples in Greek or Latin style, with their small shrine for the idol and their extensive porticoes. Above all, who could accept the enormous expense of maintaining such magnificent structures?

Throughout all the years preceding 526, actually no statement exists relative to any temple in Rome being turned into a Christian church, still less of any violent injury to their contents. When, during that year, the *templum sacrae urbis* with Romulus's Rotunda on the Roman Forum were turned into the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, that could scarcely be called putting a heathen temple to Christian use, for both buildings were public rather than religious edifices, and not exactly temples.

In the East they certainly went much more quickly to work with changing Pagan temples into churches. Violent destruction of heathen places of worship frequently occurred there through the over-zeal of Christians, and especially of the monks. In those countries the Christian Emperors' decrees against Paganism were much more severe, particularly with regard to temples in the open country, and private buildings for Pagan cult. Laws were also often enforced with Oriental excitement. As we stated, how-

[1] *Hist.*, V., c. 38, ed. J. BEKKER (*Corpus script. hist. byzantinae*), p. 301.

ever, it is a mistake to imagine a similar state of affairs in Rome. Such acts are only described in the forged inscriptions of Pyrrhus Ligorius, and these texts have now been proved quite apocryphal.[1]

On the other hand, historical documents and archæological searches are yielding a mass of reliable testimony to the real fate of these temples and statues in Rome, and all prove unanimously that they were spared and protected. This testimony agrees too with contemporary Imperial enactments when properly interpreted. Such tolerance had its root in the classical education and culture which were still dominant, even among Christians, in the Rome of that day.

Both subjects and rulers considered these temples simply as monuments. It seemed an understood thing to them that the capital of the Roman world should not be deprived of such glorious works of art, of such stirring memorials of their nation's doughty deeds. Once freed from superstitious ceremonies and cleansed from unhallowed rites—*res inlicitae*, as the law termed the details of idol-worship—the temples could remain to the glory of the world's metropolis. They were closed, but they enjoyed the protection of the public authorities, watching over them as State property.

12. All the same, ancient temples must be divided into two classes. The first, indeed the greater number, had been directly dedicated to the gods; the other had had a predominant municipal or public destination, and served various useful civic purposes. During the fifth and sixth centuries the first category were absolutely deserted. Christians avoided and dreaded such desecrated spots, and spiders spun in peace upon the altars to which formerly all sorts and conditions of men had flocked for help. They awaited the mediæval destruction of antique Rome to enhance the ruin of the metropolis by their downfall, or else to renew their youth at some future time in the form of Christian churches.

The second order of temples, thanks to their more practical destination, were more readily adapted to useful government or municipal purposes. They were utilised, with the revenues belonging to them, as monuments to great citizens, as halls for public receptions or meetings, as buildings for the safe custody of important public documents or archives, and so forth. They

[1] HENZEN, *Corpus inscript. lat.*, VI., p. LI.

were thenceforward cared for by the Christian rulers of the State.

This was the fate of the famous Temple to Saturn below the Capitol, of which the eight majestic granite pillars upon the lofty substructure still form the grandest monument on the Roman Forum. This *aedes Saturni* had served less as the dwelling-place of the god, or the site of his worship, than for the protection of the State treasury. There were special *quaestores* and special *praefecti aerarii* who had the *aerarium Saturni* under their care. Under the Christian Emperors the building lost its Pagan title and its idolatrous service, but the treasury continued to be kept there. For this reason, as early as the fourth century—about the time of Gratian—this "*aedes*" had the privilege of being restored, or rather, one might say, rebuilt. The grand ruins now existing belong to this new edifice, but the work shows traces of the decadence and superficiality of architecture towards the close of the Empire. The bases of the columns are of unequal size, and in three pillars the blocks forming the shafts are inaccurately placed. That period already took great liberties where Art and taste were concerned.[1]

One must also place the previously mentioned Temple of the "Holy City of Rome" (now SS. Cosmas and Damian) among the second class of temples. The well-preserved rectangular buildings and hall had been utilised as a Registry for the care of survey and assessment rolls. For this reason the temple bore an immense plan of the city, carved on marble, upon the wall facing the Forum of Peace.[2]

Since 526 the circular temple of Romulus, son of Maxentius, which also stood upon the Roman Forum, formed the vestibule to the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian. It had been erected by Constantine the Great to the honour of his house, just as other temples had been built by this Emperor to the glory of the *gens Flavia*. These were simple monuments devoid of all religious character.[3] The Temple of Romulus, as well as the

[1] RICHTER, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (2nd ed., 1901), p. 80; A. NIBBY, *Roma antica*, t. II., p. 108 ff.

[2] RICHTER, ibid., pp. 3, 113; LANCIANI, *Degli antichi edifici componenti la chiesa dei SS. Cosma e Damiano*, in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, vol. X. (1882), p. 29 ff.; DE ROSSI, *Di tre antichi edifici*, in the *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 61 ff.

[3] See authors quoted in preceding note. Among other indications of the way in which these temple-dedications to the Emperor Constantine and his family should be understood, we find an Imperial rescript regarding a newly erected temple at Spello:

Templum sacrae urbis, could therefore both be converted into the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian without any transformation of an actually Pagan shrine.

One could also reckon among these secular edifices certain temples which had almost become museums, from the numerous and valuable works therein accumulated. In time these readily lost all the religious character they had ever possessed, but continued to exist as public monuments.[1]

We further meet with various edicts promulgated by the Christian Emperors which expressly command the preservation of heathen temples, especially in the city of Rome. Under this head the brief order given by the Emperor Honorius, shortly after the death of Theodosius, is particularly noteworthy. It runs: "As strongly as we forbid idol-worship, so strongly we desire to preserve public monuments as ornaments to the City." At Rome, in the year 408, Honorius repeated the edict that "in towns and their suburbs temples are to be treated as State property, but their altars must everywhere be overthrown."[2]

In the country, temples were in no way equally protected. Nevertheless, lest destruction should overtake the magnificent temples of the Campagna, the Emperor Constans had taken special measures for their security. The reason given is important, being an entirely new plea for respecting these ancient structures. "Many of these shrines," he says, "have been the origin of public sports—*Circensia* or *Agonalia*—nor is it seemly that aught should be destroyed from which the time-honoured pleasures of the Roman People have been derived."[3]

13. Early Christian Rome clung with tenacious enthusiasm to these old-established **games.** This is a characteristic feature in

"*Aedem Flaviae, hoc est nostrae gentis, ut desideratis magnifico opere perfici volumus, ea observatione perscripta, ne aedis nostro nomini dedicata* **cuiusquam contagiose superstitionis fraudibus polluatur.**" This rescript is contained in the inscription found in 1733 in the Roman amphitheatre at Spello. Muratori and Orelli disputed its authenticity, but this has been satisfactorily established by Mommsen, Henzen, de Rossi, and others. Cp. ORELLI-HENZEN, *Inscr. lat.*, III. (1856), p. 115, No. 5580; *Corpus inscr. lat.*, vol. XI., p. 11, No. 5265; DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 69.

[1] When (probably at Edessa) Theodosius wanted to preserve a temple specially rich in statues as a museum, he gave as his reason: "*simulacra . . . artis pretio, non divinitate metienda*," *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., 10, 8.

[2] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., 10, 15, p. 321: "*Sicut sacrificia prohibemus, ita volumus publicorum operum ornamenta servari*," &c. (Law of Honorius, ann. 399). In the year 408: "*Aedificia templorum . . . ad usum publicum vindicentur*," &c. (Ibid., XVI., 10, 19, p. 321), issued in conjunction with Arcadius and Theodosius II. Cp. ibid., p. 319, 18th decree of Honorius: "*Aedes inlicitis rebus vacuas . . . ne quis conetur evertere.*" "*Inlicitae res*" mean altars to the gods and idols.

[3] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., 10, 3, p. 289.

the history of the city's transformation, and gives us a clue by which many historical problems may be solved. Here, as elsewhere, one must differentiate between actual Pagan and purely civic customs. The civic and historical side of earlier commemorations, and not their Pagan sense, was what all wanted to preserve. It was hopeless to uproot these festivals from popular and municipal life, but it was the work of Church authority to guard against heathen religious elements again obtaining any footing. It must be confessed that this task was often a very difficult one.

Constantine the Great had permitted directors of the sports attached to temples erected in his honour to be called *sacerdotes*, *i.e.* leaders, in the secular sense of the term, and many similar words were retained in official use.[1] This is evidenced by such public calendars as we still possess; for instance, by the Philocalian in the middle of the fourth century, and that of Polemius Silvius in the middle of the fifth century. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that late in the fifth century the *ludi Castorum* were celebrated by the Romans at Ostia, under the auspices of the Christian City Prefect himself. No one dreamt any more of worshipping Castor and Pollux, but all objected to give up the lively public sports bearing their name and held upon the sacred Tiber island.

What we have just stated should dispose of many accusations nowadays circulated with reference to the attitude of Christianity, and such details at the same time give useful hints for judging this whole transitional period in Rome.

The importance of the subject justifies us in digressing to investigate the fate of a much venerated Pagan sanctuary outside Rome, which might even be ranked with the abode of Vesta. We allude to the famous Arval shrine in the fields bordering the Via Campana.

These buildings, which are still in partial preservation, might be called a vast monument to the downfall of Paganism.

14. The sacred shrine of the **Arval Brethren** (*fratres Arvales*) was situated beside the fifth milestone on the Via Campana, which branched off from the Via Portuensis. All along this ancient road across the undulating country bordering the Tiber, stood the

[1] AUREL. VICTOR, *De Caesaribus*, c. 40. DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 69.

monuments of the worship of the *Dea Dia*, traditionally believed to have been founded by no less a personage than Romulus himself. During the palmy days of the temple the flower of the nobility, even scions of the Imperial House, belonged to its College of Priests, the so-called Arval Brotherhood. Beside the shrine of the *Dea Dia* another temple, called the *Caesareum*, stood amidst the verdant plains. Here, close to this sanctuary of the rural goddess, the deified Emperors were worshipped by the Arvals. Games had been instituted and were held in an adjoining Circus, a **sacred Grove** surrounding the whole seat of Arval worship. When Gratian's law confiscating temple property was promulgated this grove was expropriated, but no one touched the temple. Excavations seem to prove that the Grove came at once into the hands of the Church, for Pope Damasus, in the fourth century, built a Christian oratory near the outside boundary of its precincts. During recent local searches remains of a dedicatory inscription were unearthed addressed to St. Viatrix (Beatrix) and her brothers, who all suffered martyrdom for their faith, and were buried during the Diocletian persecution in the Christian cemetery already established near the Grove and called the *Coemeterium Generosae*. Evidently, therefore, under Diocletian, there were Christian catacombs hard by the site of Pagan ceremonies, a fact which seems to signify that, even in the time of that Emperor, heathen functions at this spot had lost much of their importance.

The **Arval Temples** continued to exist in all safety under the protection of the Imperial legislation. Though Christians had secured a footing all round them, they were never attacked. The exceptionally rich store of ancient inscriptions with which one of the temples was covered has thus been preserved to our day. For value and importance no collection of epigraphs can be compared to these Arval inscriptions. They not only record the observance of the annual May festivals, but also the sacrifices offered in honour of the birthdays of the Emperors and their relatives, as well as for each important event during their reign—including the admission of fresh priests—all with precise dates and names belonging to the highest rank, thus furnishing a rich fund of invaluable historical data. In the Grove, too, inscriptions had been put up in several places. These were unfortunately scattered, just because the Grove was not considered inalienable

public property. From time to time fragments of them were found in and about Rome. This makes the undisturbed temple inscriptions all the more fascinating, forming as they do a sort of gallery of epigraphic specimens. In the mediæval period, when as yet intact, they must have dropped or been detached from the walls originally supporting them, for the whole collection has recently been discovered in the immediate vicinity of the walls, and future excavations will probably allow of more being brought to light.

In spite of most careful examination, the neighbouring Catacomb of Generosa did not yield a single one of these stelae, though the marble of which they consist would have seemed specially appropriate there. The only explanation seems to be, that the Roman Christians of the fourth and fifth centuries evidently and intentionally spared the Arval Temple. Thus this remarkable spot, where the New Religion came into such close touch with the Old, once more strikingly proves the self-restraint practised by the Church when dealing with monuments of Paganism.[1]

15. Moreover, during the lifetime of Pope Damasus (†384) the general Christian toleration towards buildings for heathen worship received brilliant public confirmation. Symmachus, the rhetor, the champion of Paganism, was accused of having unjustly punished Christians when City Prefect for the pretended crime of injuring the monuments of Pagan cult. Pope Damasus, on this occasion, gave evidence in favour of the accused Prefect. He testified in court that no Christian had suffered any unfair treatment from Symmachus. The Prefect on his side was able to confirm that, as a fact, no Christian had ever even faced such an accusation before his tribunal.[2] The historian Zosimus—a bitter heathen—cannot bring forward any instance of a temple in or near Rome having been destroyed under Theodosius. He

[1] DE ROSSI, *Vicende degli atti dei fratelli Arvali*, in *Annali dell' Istituto archeol.*, 1858, p. 54 ff.; also in his article in the *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1866, p. 55 ff., and in *Roma sotterranea*, III., p. 648 ff.; NORTHCOTE-KRAUS, *Roma sotterranea*, 2nd ed., p. 526 ff. Cp. PELLEGRINI, *Gli edifizi del collegio dei fratelli Arvali nel luco della dea Dia*, Roma, 1865; C. HÜLSEN, *Additamenta ad acta fratrum Arvalium*, in the *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 1892, p. 316 ff., and specially 341. MARINI'S classical work, *Fasti fratrum Arvalium*, does not furnish much topographical information. There are some delightful passages in Caetani Lavatelli's article in the *Varia* (Rome, 1905, p. 125 ff.) entitled: *I fratelli Arvali e il loro santuario.*

[2] AUREL. SYMMACHI, *Relationes*, 21 (ed. MEYER, Lipsiae, 1872), p. 28 ff.; ed. SEECK in the *Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, VI., part 1, 259. Cp. SEECK, Prolegomena to his edition of Symmachus, p. 56; NORTHCOTE-KRAUS, p. 529.

contents himself with lamenting that Theodosius, after the overthrow of Eugenius, had excited all minds against the "holy rites," turning both priests and priestesses out of the temples, and leaving the altars devoid of sacrifice, dishonoured and neglected. Zosimus certainly mentions in his History that Serena, as previously related, took off the gold ornaments from the goddess Rhea, and subsequently adds, with ill-concealed disgust, that during the siege of Rome, under Alaric, jewellery adorning the sacred images was melted down; but he thereby only proves that, both inside and outside the temples, their former divine inmates had, till then, been left in undisturbed possession of their gorgeous ornaments. The Christians were therefore still less likely to have spoiled the temples themselves.[1]

It is also evident that in Rome, which alone concerns us at present, nothing occurred analogous to the violent destruction of temples reported from the East. Still, in the old city of the Tiber it is always possible that individual cases of violence, sacrilege, robbery, or injury may have occurred, especially after the last brief revival of Paganism. As an extremely rare commemoration of such an incident, we find in an underground Christian burying-vault on the *Via Salaria Vetus*, a feeble and badly drawn representation of the overthrow of a heathen idol.[2]

One may also accept that at Rome Paganism took up a less aggressive attitude than in the East. There, risings among the Christians, or outbursts of fury among the monks, were often due to scandalous action on the part of heathen priests and their adherents. The magnificent Serapeum at Alexandria was sacrificed in 391, during such an outbreak under the fanatical Patriarch Theophilus, but its fate was mainly due to previous heathen riots. Theodosius's edict ordering the destruction of the Serapeum and other so-called "Holy Places" both in Egypt and the East—almost all devoted to equally immoral rites—declares expressly that acts of fierce hostility on the Pagan side had called forth these severe measures.[3]

Yet certain passages in the **Church Fathers** seem to stand in flagrant contradiction to the above statements respecting the heathen temples in Rome.

[1] ZOSIMUS, *Hist.*, V., c. 38, 41, pp. 301 and 306.
[2] Illustration and remarks by de Rossi (*Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1865, pp. 3, 4).
[3] SOZOMENUS, *Hist.*, VII., c. 15; SOCRATES, *Hist.*, V., 16; GOTHOFREDUS, *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., 10, 11, p. 308 ff.

As a fact, such expressions simply prove the intense satisfaction experienced by the best men in the Christian Church at the complete collapse of Paganism. They are enthusiastic flowers of rhetoric, but not sober historical facts. When preaching to his own congregation, St. Augustine exclaims: "All the idols in Rome have been overthrown!"[1] St. Jerome, in his usual lively strain, even amplifies the picture: "The Temple of Jupiter is overthrown and all heathen rites are at an end." "The Golden Capitol lies neglected in the dust. People hasten past the tottering shrines to the Martyrs' Tombs. All who are not converted to Christianity by common sense and reason, must be brought to it by shame."[2]

One need only place such tirades beside the celebrated passage of the poet Claudian, himself halting between Christianity and Paganism. In the same year (403) that Jerome gave vent to his excited fancy, Claudian describes quite contrary facts with equal, if not greater, poetic fervour. He points to the still towering Pagan temples in Rome, he enumerates the whole magnificent series of religious edifices on the Roman Forum, and the superb collection of bronze statues representing both gods and heroes.[3]

Of course, in such passages, the Fathers are not actually dwelling on the material wreck of the temples, but on the spiritual downfall of Paganism. When they come to positive details, even St. Jerome, with all his historical learning, cannot name any instance of temple-destruction in Rome, except the high-handed clearance in 377 of the great Mithræum in the seventh city district, undertaken by the City Prefect Gracchus. We have already described this, but we may add, in connection with the whole proceeding, that Gracchus's action was justified by the strict letter of Imperial law. It was in no sense arbitrary,

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo* 105, *De verbis evangel. Luc.*, 11, No. 13 (*P. L.*, XXXVIII. col. 624): "*Eversis in urbe Roma omnibus simulacris*," &c. This passing expression of St. Augustine's led even Tillemont himself to infer that all the idols in Rome had been overthrown: "*toutes renversées*" (*Hist. des Emp.*, V., 518).

[2] HIERONYMUS, lib. II., *adversus Iovinianum*, No. 38 (*P. L.*, XXIII., col. 338): "*Templa Iovis et caerimoniae ceciderunt*"; *Epist.* 107 *ad Laetam*, 1 (*P. L.*, XXII., col. 868): "*Auratum squalet capitolium. Fuligine et aranearum telis omnia Romae templa cooperta sunt. Movetur urbs sedibus suis et inundans populus* ante delubra semiruta *currit ad martyrum tumulos. Si non extorquet fidem prudentia, extorqueat saltem verecundia.*"

[3] *De sextu consulatu Honorii*, v. 42 ff. (ed. TH. BIRT, *Mon. Germ. hist. Auctt. antiq.*, X.), p. 237. For Claudian and the Pagan atmosphere surrounding him in Rome, see ARENS, *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XVII., 1896, p. 1 ff.

but, till then, the law involved had never been put in practice in Rome.[1]

Statues of the Gods

16. With respect to the **statues of the gods,** old documents and recent archæological finds prove the existence of a regular system which is instructive in that it illustrates the change then being accomplished. From the basal inscriptions which have been collected from a vast number of statues, it results that during this period a remarkable, albeit little known, practice prevailed. As a rule the idols were removed from the temples, and then, with amended inscriptions, set up as ornaments in the public places. They were put on an equal footing with the city monuments, which were under the care of guardians of their own. At the meeting-point of the fourth and fifth centuries the forums, baths, and secular basilicas were peopled with a new host of superb statues of marble and bronze. Masterpieces of art, which hitherto had been concealed in the mystical half-light of the cella, where they were safe from the glances of the profane, were now set up in the streets and in public resorts, where they could proclaim openly the genius of their creators. No doubt admiration was not seldom diluted with a little fun at the expense of the unfortunate Olympians, compelled to be thus exhibited to the public gaze.

The City Prefect confined himself to stating drily in the inscription that the statue had been placed in its new quarters in such and such a year. For instance, in one such inscription, preserved at the Villa Albani, the Prefect Cæcina Decius Acinatius Albinus, in 414, records that he had made use of the statue for the improvement of the city, which he had undertaken ;[2] similarly, the four basal inscriptions of 377 found in or around the Forum state that the Prefect Gabinius Vettius Probianus had placed the statues in front of the Basilica Julia for its adornment.[3]

[1] Baronius himself, in all good faith (*Adnotatio ad martyrol.*, 13 *maii*), contributed to spread this wrong idea that the Christians of Rome, until the days of Gregory the Great, had been addicted to destroying temples.

[2] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, No. 1659 : "*facto a se adiecit ornatui.*"

[3] Ibid., No. 1658*a* : ". . . *statuam conlocari praecepit, quae ornamento basilicae esse posset inlustri.*" Cp. ibid., *b*, *c*, *d*, and the whole chapter, *Cippi statuarum a praefectis urbi ad ornandos locos publicos collocatarum*, No. 1651. The series here begins in 331. Further information will be found in LANCIANI (*Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1892, p. 20). Cp. DE ROSSI, *Delle statue pagane in Roma sotto gli imperatori cristiani*, in *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1865, p. 5 ff.

The *curatores statuarum*, whose business it was to supervise the removal and to watch over the statues, are mentioned in various texts.[1]

The famous Victoria, from the altar of the Senate Hall, is the only statue among those thus displaced of which the name has come down to us. With this exception, the reports and the inscriptions on such statues never indicate whom the image represented. They were intended to survive only as nameless pieces of art. On the other hand, the City Prefects were occasionally at pains, in the inscriptions which they added, to inform the Romans of the name of the artist who had chiselled or cast the monument. Four bronze statues, representing no one knows what, but which were works of renowned Greek masters, are known to have been placed in or near the Forum Romanum. Their bases, which were discovered subsequently, bore the names of Praxiteles, Polyclitus, Timarchus, and Bryaxides. The first mentioned was the last to be found (1874). In these four instances the works may well be ascribed to the artists whose names they bear,[2] the case with them being otherwise than with the colossal groups near the Quirinal. There the similar inscriptions: *opus Praxitelis*, *opus Phidiae*, restored since the time of Sixtus V., can at most only refer to the originals of which these statues are copies. Even as to the authenticity of the originals there is considerable doubt.

The words placed by Prudentius in the mouth of the Emperor Theodosius on the occasion of his discourse to the Pagan senators, refer to the erection of these statues in the public places: "Forsake the childish festivities and the sacrifices unworthy of a great Empire. Cleanse the marble statues which have been defiled by your hateful lustrations, and leave them in their simple beauty. They are the works of great masters, and it is my will that they adorn your city, and be no longer disfigured by ill-usage.[3]

This was the fulfilment of the poetic vision which, according to the same poet Prudentius, was beheld by the Roman

[1] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, l.c., No. 1708. Cp. *Hermes*, 19 (1884), 188.

[2] DE ROSSI, *La base d'una statua di Prassitele*, &c., in *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1874, p. 174 ff. The plinth bears, in characters of the second or third century, OPVS·PRAXITELIS.

[3] PRUDENTIUS, *Contra Symmachum*, I., v. 500 ff., ed. DRESSEL, p. 239: ". . . *Ornamenta fuant patriae, nec decolor usus | In vitium versae monumenta coinquinet artis.*"

archdeacon and martyr when being tortured by the persecutor Valerian.

"I see," said St. Lawrence, "the coming of a sovereign who, being a God-fearing man, will not leave Rome in the bondage of unclean idols. He closes the ivory portals of the Temples, closes them with bolts of brass, and lays their unholy threshold under the ban. Then, at last, will there be brought into the light of day those marble figures desecrated and defiled by blood, and the guileless bronze, now worshipped as divine." [1]

17. Even outside of Rome inscriptions similar to the above, and describing the transportation of idols from the temples to the public places, have been unearthed; for instance, at Verona, Benevento, and Capua. This proves that the wise example of Rome formed a rule followed also elsewhere.

A peculiarity of the inscriptions at Benevento and Capua, which has not been matched by anything yet found at Rome, is the fact that they record that the statues were taken from "hidden places" and set up in a more public situation.[2]

Probably this implies not merely that they had been taken from the privacy of the temple-cell, but that they had been previously taken down and hidden away. Such a proceeding was a matter of frequent occurrence, the agents being sometimes the heathen, who wished to place the statues in safety, at other times the Government, desirous of withdrawing the images from public worship, and occasionally private individuals, who wished to obtain possession of the precious masterpieces of art.

There can be no manner of doubt that many of the idols which have been brought to light in different parts of Italy, even in quite recent times, had been intentionally concealed. Among those thus found outside of Rome may be mentioned the Victoria discovered at Brescia, the Mercury now at the British Museum, and the much-talked-of Venus of Milo at the Paris Louvre.

At Rome itself similar finds have to be recorded. Especially famous is the colossal **Hercules** in gilt bronze now preserved at

[1] PRUDENTIUS, *Peristephanon*, II., v. 473 ff., ed. DRESSEL, p. 326. A well-arranged list of all Prudentius's utterances regarding either statues or temples will be found in Allard's article, "*Rome au 4e siècle d'après les poèmes de Prudence*," *Revue des questions historiques*, 36 (1884), 5 ff. He very rightly points out: "*On voit qu'au moment où Prudence compose ses poèmes, le marteau des démolisseurs ne s'est encore abattu sur aucun temple, aucun édicule, ou aucune statue consacrés aux anciens dieux*" (p. 5).

[2] Benevento: "*statuam in abditis locis repertam*," &c. Capua: "*signa translata ex abditis locis*," &c. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1865, p. 7.

the Museo Pio Clementino in the Vatican. Excepting the statue of Theodosius at Barletta, it is the largest of all known brazen statues of antiquity. This Hercules was found in 1864 beneath the Palazzo Righetti, hidden away in a mass of masonry which had formed a part of Pompey's Theatre. Here the demi-god had been carefully immured. In all probability it had been transported thither from the neighbouring temple of the oracle in the Circus Flaminius. The oracles were given by the statues themselves, and this property of theirs made them to be especially treasured by the heathen and especially hated by the Christians. A great hole in the neck of the figure seems to afford the explanation of the means by which the oracle was produced. On the day of the find, a child was introduced into the hollow body of the statue through this opening, its voice within producing unearthly sounds. It is thought that the statue must have suffered violence, as it is devoid of feet and legs, and at the back of the head bears traces of a fall.[1]

The marble Venus of the Capitoline Museum, a fine specimen of Greek art, was likewise found concealed in the foundations of a house in the Subura. The statue, which is chiselled out of the very best Paros marble, must have been almost perfect when it was thus concealed. It is possible that the Juno discovered in the recent excavations in the so-called Stadium of the Roman Palatine belongs to the same category. It was found carefully immured in a recumbent position in some foundations. A number of other idols found under similar circumstances may well have been concealed in times of danger.

It is not unlikely that fanatics, pagans, and priests of the gods, if it was indeed they who were responsible for the concealment, may have hoped against hope for the return of Paganism into public favour. An anonymous fifth-century writer alludes to this hiding away of statues, and applies to the pagans the words of Isaias, "they shall go into the holes of the rocks and into the caves of the earth" (Is. ii. 18 ff.) "I myself," he adds, "have seen in Mauritania idols dragged forth from grottos and caves where they had been hidden, and all know that the same has taken place in other provinces also."[2]

[1] The height is c. 12½ ft. Regarding this discovery, see LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome*, pp. 287, 290 (London, 1888).

[2] *Liber de promissionibus et praedictionibus*, III., c. 38 (*P. L.*, LI., 833 ff.). The passage is quoted by LE BLANT, *De quelques statues cachées par les anciens*, in the *Comptes-rendus* of the *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 1890, p. 541 ff.

The inhabitants of Rome, whose confidence in their city's fortifications was small, had been wont, ever since the time of the first incursions of the barbarians, to hide their treasures at the approach of danger. By those who knew their value, classic statues would naturally be accounted treasures. The mansions were everywhere full of works of art, especially of statues, and there can be no doubt that a number of the figures alluded to above were hidden at such moments of stress, and were afterwards either forgotten or allowed to remain in their secret quarters. This is the best explanation for the concealment of statues which have no connection with Pagan worship. As an instance we may mention the fine life-size **Boxers,** cast in bronze, and found in digging the foundations of the National Theatre at Rome (1885). This piece of work was discovered neatly erected on a specially prepared pedestal amidst the substructure of the ancient buildings.[1]

On the contrary, where we find valuable statues hidden together in large numbers, specially small ones made of precious metal, supposition points rather to their having been deposited by some successful robber, during one of the sacks of Rome, who, in the end, had been forced to leave them behind, or else to their having formed part of a curio-merchant's stock-in-trade.[2]

The temples and idols whose fate we have tried to bring rapidly before our readers, are specimens of the mighty language in which Rome's own monuments unfold her past history. These buildings and their vicissitudes offer a truer and more vivid picture of the mental struggles of those times than any other records at our command. Nevertheless, to be still more intelligible, they require the vast background of contemporary history.

The following chapter, a glance over general history from the time of Theodosius, and a study of the undercurrents of that history, will be an endeavour to bring before our eyes a picture of the spiritual transformation which marked the close of that early epoch.

[1] LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome*, p. 297. Lanciani took a leading part in this discovery.
[2] Ibid., pp. 295, 297.

CHAPTER II

INTERNAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE CITY OF ROME AND OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

The Emperor Honorius in Rome, 403

18. THE Emperor Theodosius, when dying, had left the Empire to be divided between his two sons, with the injunction that each should consider himself full heir to all that concerned his devotion to the Church and his whole-hearted zeal for the Christian religion. "It is this Religion," were his exact words, according to Theodoret, "which maintains peace and quiet within the State, makes wars to cease, and enables a united country to vanquish all its enemies."[1]

During their reign, Honorius and Arcadius, on the whole, strove to adhere to their great father's precepts, though their measures against the lingering influence of Paganism were not free from mistakes. Sometimes misplaced zeal, sometimes indifference, led them to allow evils to continue which could only be removed from the body politic by the exercise of ceaseless effort and considerable tact.

In the fifth century, indeed, idolatry steadily, though certainly very unwillingly, ceased to form any recognised part of either public or private life. The temples, detested as they were by the bulk of the people, gradually gave up all hope of being reopened. The beautiful statues of the gods no longer relied upon returning to their incense-clouded shrines. Such was the outward state of things.

But the conquest of Paganism in daily life was the real task of the day, and one of gigantic importance. The colossal Empire, only superficially converted, long resisted complete reform. The transforming power of the New Religion was also far from

[1] THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, V., c. 25. St. Augustine develops this idea (*De civit. Dei*, 5, c. 25, 26) when reverting to the history of Constantine the Great and Theodosius I. At the same time he points out that temporal blessing has never been promised infallibly to zealous Christian rulers: "*propter vitam aeternam quisque debet esse christianus*" (c. 25).

developed. In fact the Church as yet had only begun her work, when suddenly barbarian hordes swarmed over the Roman State and seemed ready to engulf both classical and Christian culture in their headlong course.

19. Two circumstances, however, seemed to hold out firm hope of ultimate success for the efforts Christianity was making to elevate the whole social body, so far, of course, as outward invasion permitted.

One was the uniform progress, the marvellous harmony in both principle and practice, which was observable wherever Christian congregations and bishops were found—from the provinces of Spain to the remote Caucasus; from the African deserts to the Danube, the Rhine, and even to Britain. Only a higher, *superhuman principle* could be at work in such a mighty union. The Roman Empire, with all its power of multiform concentration, never, even in thought, approached such perfect unity. No philosopher of antiquity ever imagined the possibility of such harmony both in doctrine and in practical aims.

The other hopeful sign consisted in the growing concord between the New Religion and the rulers of the **Christian State.** Independent of Roman power, nay, actually in opposition to it, and in spite of its sanguinary decrees, Christianity had established itself all over the vast Empire. But the time had now come when Christianity and society at large could mutually rejoice over a sympathetic alliance between religious and mundane forces, and this alliance promised to be of incalculable advantage to both. Benefit accrued to the Empire from the fact that new and potent restorative elements were being practically poured into her life-blood. The Christian Emperors' legislation bears witness to this point, particularly during the fifth century, which at present concerns us. In many ways the public authorities gave proof of real effort to establish social life on Christian principles. They tried, on their side, to combat certain lingering relics of vanishing Paganism. In this they were supported by the guidance and prudence of far-sighted Churchmen, who took care that haste should not become hurry, and that the measures taken should reach the right places and attain the desired effect.

For instance, what excellent rules for daily public conduct are given by the Christian Father of Hippo: "Efforts must be directed towards breaking down idols in the hearts of the heathen,

but we must not violently destroy the objects of their reverence. When we have won over our opponents to Christian sentiments, they will of themselves invite us to such destruction or else carry it out with their own hands. Let us pray for them, but never act angrily against them. For those who need excitement, there are plenty of other subjects ready for their wrath. Look how many Christians are still half heathen; they have joined us with their bodies, but never with their heart and soul."[1]

The Church, on her side, recognised with joy and thankfulness that it was an immense relief when State legislation supported her educational efforts and her work of social regeneration.

20. On March 23, 395, an edict of the Emperor **Honorius** confirmed all privileges accorded by his predecessors to the Christian religion. He ordered all Government officials to protect those who professed it, and stated that, during his lifetime, reverence for the Church should suffer no diminution, but rather be increased.[2]

As a ruler Honorius holds no prominent rank. He was completely overshadowed by his father. It was his evil fate to assume the reins of power too young. He was thus forced to rely upon counsellors and generals whose selfish ambitions outbalanced his slight experience and feeble will. Procopius describes him, not without reason, as vacillating and mentally short-sighted. Some of his ecclesiastical contemporaries certainly speak of his intellect and character with great respect, but this can be easily explained as gratitude towards a powerful patron. Subsequent events proved that precisely during the lifetime of Honorius the Western Empire had need of a far more energetic and resolute man at its head, in order to stem the frightful incursions of the Germanic races.[3]

21. Towards the end of the fourth century, the valiant Goth, **Alaric**, that name fatal for Rome and Italy, began to be heard of outside his own nation. He led his countrymen through

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo* 62, § 17 (*P. L.*, XXXVIII., 423): "*Prius agimus ut idola in eorum corde frangamus . . . Modo orandum est pro illis, non irascendum illis.*"

[2] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI., 2, 29, p. 72: "*quia temporibus nostris addi potius reverentiae cupimus, quam ex his, quae olim praestita sunt, immutari.*"

[3] We give the portrait of Honorius (Ill. 5) from a photograph by Moscioni of Rome. Cp. Garrucci, *Arte cristiana*, tav. 449, No. 3. According to the two inscriptions, which should be read consecutively, the ivory tablet was dedicated to the memory of Honorius by the Consul Probus. DN · HONORIO · SEMP · AVG · | PROBVS · FAMVLVS · V · C · CONS · ORD · The Labarum is capped, like that of Theodosius (Ill. 1) by the Monogram of Christ. The winged Victory is here a mere neutral symbol.

Ill. 5.—Honorius.

Illyricum, Macedonia, and Thessaly, devastating the territory as he passed. Then he crashed forward into the heart of **Greece**, and laid proud Athens low. Greek civilisation closed amid the clash of Gothic arms. Eleusis was wrecked, and throughout later history no further syllable is heard of its mysteries. In 394 the Olympian Games had been celebrated for the last time, and the famous Temple of Olympia itself was shortly after turned into a Christian church, the same happening to that heart of Hellas, the Parthenon at Athens.[1]

Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and a hundred other training-schools for war, statecraft, science, and culture fell, almost without a blow, before the terrible Goths. It was the triumphant progress of barbarism over the birthplace of Greek gods and Greek art, a triumph of which the tragic character is almost without parallel in history. Thanks to Stilicho and his army, the leader of those Northern hordes was, for a time, restrained from fighting and plunder in the western provinces. Alaric agreed to enter into an alliance with the Emperor, and he was named Commander-in-chief of Eastern Illyricum. Soon, however, an irresistible force drew him and his ever-victorious troops into Italy and **against Rome.**

Alaric made his way through Pannonia to the Julian Alps, and in the spring, 403, arrived on Italian soil, full of the wildest plans. But for Stilicho's decision and skill, Honorius's rule in Italy would have then been at once at an end. But the two sanguinary battles fought against the Gothic King by Stilicho at Pollentia and later at Verona saved the country. The Emperor had fled from Milan to Ravenna, which was much more strongly fortified, but these battles enabled him to return. They also secured a delay of seven years for Rome, before her first capture by a barbarian race. The battle of **Pollentia** took place on Easter-Day, and it seems that the earliest known Roman missal or Sacramentary, which at Easter-tide gives thanks to God for relief from threatened invasion, refers to the Easter rejoicings over that victory.[2]

[1] See concerning Olympia, HOLTZINGER, *Kunsthistor. Studien* (Tübingen, 1886), p. 69 ff.; *Handbuch der altchristl. Architektur* (1889), p. 22. Cp. for Athens, Strzygowski in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, 14, 270 ff. The transformation of the two Greek sanctuaries into Christian churches probably took place before the end of the fifth century. Cp. GREGOROVIUS, *Gesch. der Stadt Athen im MA.*, 1 (1889), 60 ff.

[2] *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, mense Iulio, Orationes et preces, No. 28 (*P. L.*, LV., 78), ed. FELTOE, p. 73: "*Munera nomini tuo, Domine, cum gratiarum actione deferimus, qui*

22. The leading poet of Christian Rome, Prudentius, lost no time in pointing out to the Emperor Honorius that it certainly had not been the heathen gods nor the ancient faith which had helped him to victory. The Empire could justly feel proud, he tells him, that the Christian religion had given force to his arms. Prudentius adds his own conviction and that of his contemporaries, that Christianity never deadens but rather quickens patriotism as well as military and political energy. He continues in striking language: "It was for the fatherland that each soldier sought to win, and dauntless faced the path to wounds and death." The poet urges the Emperor to establish the State on the sole durable foundation, and then invites him to come to "Golden Rome, in his triumphal car, laden with spoils of victory, and guided by Christ Himself."[1]

This was the Romans' one desire. Since Milan had become the Court residence, Rome felt herself too little in touch with the head of the Empire. Ever since Constantinople had been made the chief political centre, Rome had suffered both in dignity and material importance. Now that Milan seemed daily growing a most dangerous second rival, the city demanded at least to celebrate her ruler's triumph as usual, hoping also to be again recognised as the metropolis.

The Emperor Honorius came to Rome, the victor Stilicho at his side, but this was to be the last triumphal progress of a Roman ruler through the Eternal City. In December 403 he was joyfully received at the Milvian Bridge. To quote the language of the contemporary inscriptions: All the City Corporations and, above all, the clergy acclaimed the "invincible and most fortunate Lord, the gentle and eternal Emperor,

nos ab **infestis hostibus liberatos paschale** *sacramentum secura tribuis mente suscipere.*" The Paschal season lasts till the Octave of Pentecost. For chronology of the prayer, cp. with F. PROBST, *Die ältesten römischen Sacramentarien* (1892), p. 56 ff., against DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien* (1889), p. 131.

[1] PRUDENTIUS, *Contra Symmachum*, II., v. 703 ff. ed., DRESSEL, p. 279. He says: It is not superstition which has conquered here, "*Sed vis cruda virum perfractaque congredientum | Pectora nec trepidans animus succumbere leto | Pro patria et pulcram per vulnera quaerere laudem.*" In verses 757 and 758 he addresses the Emperor in the name of Rome: "*Regnator mundi, Christo sociabere in aevum, | Quo ductore meum trahis ad coelestia regnum.*" This passage reads like an echo of the inscription to the honour of Christ, which Constantine the Great placed inside St. Peter's: "*Quod duce te mundus surrexit in astra triumphans, | Hanc Constantinus victor tibi condidit aulam.*" Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscript. christ. urbis Romae*, 2, 1, 346. Prudentius speaks of the horrors of gladiatorial games, v. 1113, ed. DRESSEL, p. 299: "*Quod genus ut sceleris iam nesciat aurea Roma, | Te precor, Ausonii dux augustissime regni, | Et tam triste sacrum iubeas, ut caetera, tolli,*" &c.

victorious and triumphant." All the city was gaily decked with banners, wreaths, and hangings.[1] Honorius would not allow the Senate to precede his chariot on foot, as formerly; otherwise most likely the triumphal procession passed, as in early Imperial times, down the Via Sacra to the Capitol with traditional pomp. Only the animals for sacrifice, the heathen priests, and the offerings to the gods were wanting. Moreover, if Augustine could write generally of the visits of the Emperors to Rome: "Directly the Emperors enter this City they visit the tomb of St. Peter—the lowly fisherman whom Heaven now wills to honour above all departed Rulers," we may conclude that his contemporary, Honorius, did not neglect this custom on such a solemn occasion.[2]

Claudian, the heathen author, who alone has described these events, gives us (with more verbosity than facts) a picture of jubilant crowds massed in the streets and on the housetops, nor does he omit to congratulate the Emperor in the name of all the bronze and marble gods still standing in the Forum. The lofty Golden Temple, and above all the Sacred Shrine of *Iupiter tonans* on the Capitol, are brought in as background to the poet's sonorous description. The poem was dedicated to the Emperor when entering upon his sixth consulship. It would really seem as if he wanted to show Honorius and his Court how far the productions of the Pagan schools were inferior in intellectual force and fire to Christian poetry, as represented by Prudentius.[3]

The End of Gladiatorial Combats

23. Prudentius had concluded his invitation to the Emperor by begging him to put a stop to the gladiatorial games which still disgraced all Roman rejoicings.[4]

Many Christians looked forward with dread to the days of the Emperor's triumph with its usual sanguinary displays, for all through the fourth century gladiatorial combats had continued in vogue. In 325, Constantine the Great had forbidden them,

[1] The titles given to the Emperor are from the inscriptions of Honorius at Rome (*Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1187 ff.). Prudentius mentions these decorations expressly (*Contra Symmachum*, II., v. 725 ff.): "*flores, coronae, pallia.*"

[2] *In psalm. CXL.*, No. 21 (*P. L.*, XXXVII., 1830): "*Imperator venit Romam. Quo festinat? Ad templum imperatoris an ad memoriam piscatoris?*"

[3] *De sexto consulatu Honorii*, v. 42 ff.

[4] See above, p. 38, note 1.

but quite without result. Plebeians and patricians, Pagan citizens and crowds of Christian folk, all poured eagerly into the Roman amphitheatre, even in St. Augustine's days. That holy man describes from personal observation among his own friends what a degrading fascination such scenes could exercise even over cultured minds.[1]

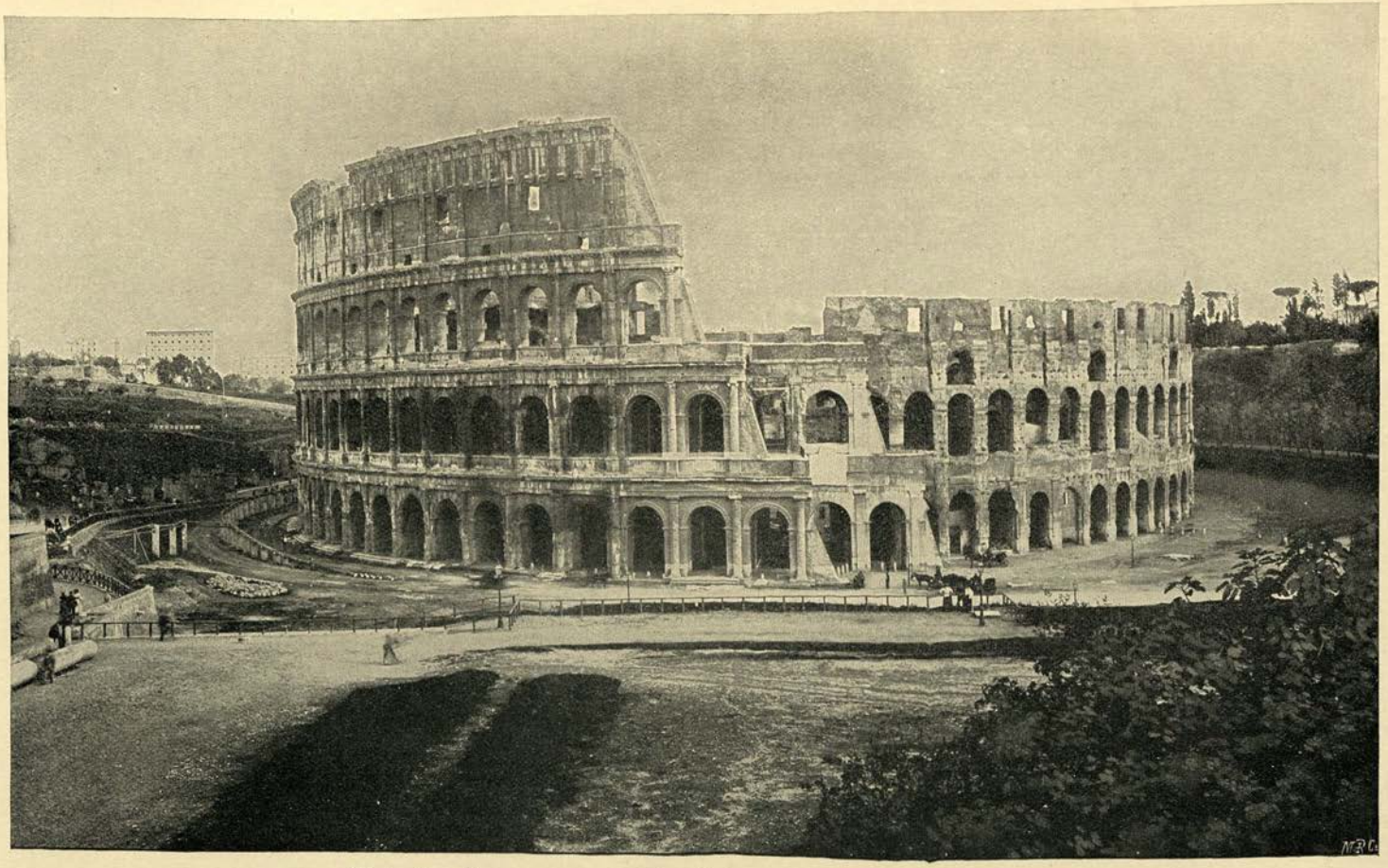
Was this infamous relic of Paganism to be allowed in Rome under Honorius? As a fact, in conformity with ancient festal custom, the gladiatorial combats had been proclaimed. On the appointed day the Coliseum's vast amphitheatre was crammed with the usual concourse of citizens and strangers assembled from all parts to see the Emperor. If necessary the four tiers of this gigantic building (Ill. 6)[2] could contain 45,000 people. Formerly the celebration of these games used to be considered a sacred function, dedicated to the gods, but now the reduced number of priests and flamens only acted at most as organisers or stewards. No more Vestal Virgins were seen. Christians had too loudly complained that these virgins were restrained by no sense of maiden modesty from exposing themselves in conspicuous apparel to the eyes of the maddened multitude, in order to watch the blood flow, and even, as Prudentius remarks, sharing in the popular frenzy, and by turning down their thumbs deciding the death of the badly wounded.[3]

The scene in the amphitheatre, therefore, progressed in the order prescribed from time immemorial. The procession of the gladiators, or *Pompa*, was held before the eyes of the Court assembled in the Imperial *Pulvinar*, before ladies sitting in their own reserved gallery, before the *viri clarissimi* in their prominent seats on the *Podium*, and before the countless massed throng who had streamed through the eighty gateways. The unhappy band of gladiators, composed of slaves, criminals, and professional pugilists, was conducted by their *lanistae*, or trainers. They must march round the arena to salute the Court and the crowd before

[1] *Confessionum*, l. 6, c. 8, on the sad experience of his friend Alypius at Rome: "*Fervebant omnia immanissimis voluptatibus*," &c. Cp. AMBROS., *In psalm. XL.*, No. 24 (*P. L.*, XIV., 1078).

[2] From a new photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani, taken from the tower of S. Francesca Romana. To the left are the excavations, to the right the heights of the Cælian.

[3] PRUDENTIUS, l.c., v. 1098 ff.: "*Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque iacentis | Virgo modesta iubet converso pollice rumpi.*" On account of their former connection with the service of the gods, Prudentius, following current custom, still speaks of the gladiatorial combats as *triste sacrum*.



Ill. 6.—The Coliseum and the New Excavations in the Baths of Titus.

they die: "*Ave Imperator, morituri te salutant!*" Then, as usual, they fell apart into two divisions. The *retiarii* with their nets had sharp tridents and daggers as weapons of attack. Their opponents were the lightly-armed *secutores* and the heavy-armed *mirmillones*. In the passage alluded to against these games, Prudentius especially mentions this *Pompa* through the amphitheatre, the tridents, the *secutores*, the *infamis arena*. When speaking of the struggle itself, he describes the dust raised by the combatants in the *Cavea*, the wild cries of the audience, the moans and groans of the down-thrust gladiators. The picture is so vivid that we could fancy ourselves transported back to the first savage times of early Rome, or the bloodstained orgies of the period when debased Paganism reigned supreme. Yet nearly a hundred years had elapsed since the Emperor Constantine had set up the "saving Symbol of the Cross." [1]

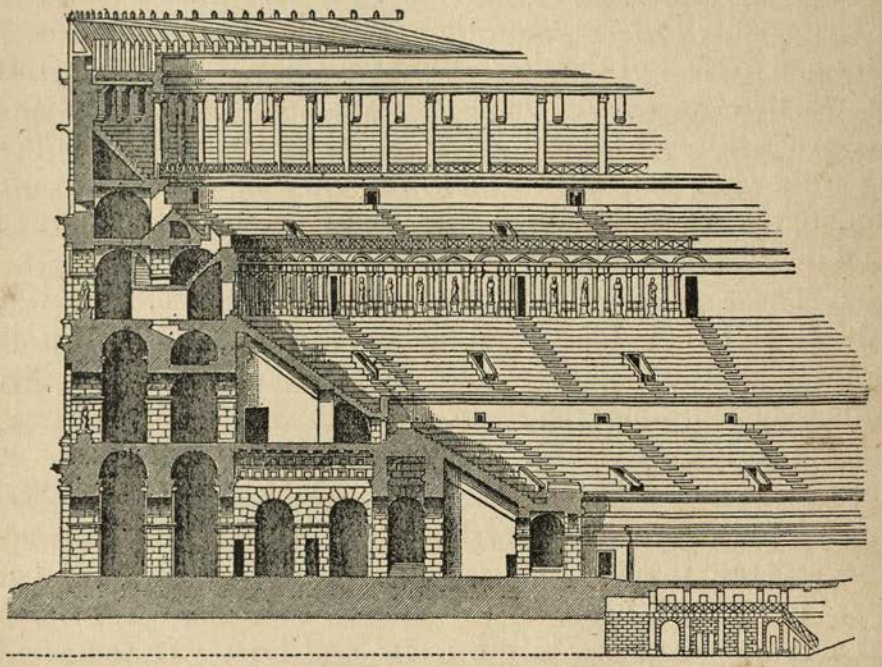
24. These grim games, under Honorius, were, however, to be the last of their kind in Rome. A pious monk had pressed forward with the populace into the Coliseum. The audience, breathlessly following the sports, doubtless scarcely noticed the strange, poorly-clad visitor. Suddenly, when the strife was at its hottest, and blood began to flow, the monk swung himself over the parapet into the arena, and rushed towards the combatants, meaning to separate them. Thousands of eyes were now fixed on his solitary form. All heard with amazement that he was commanding every one to pause in the name of Christ. In the name of the Religion of Love he was boldly demanding that these horrors should be stopped. As might be foreseen, directly the first surprise was over, the whole excited mob turned against the rash intruder. In a moment he was the object of the united fury of audience and gladiators—and fell dead amongst those whom he was seeking to save. As a martyr he offered the sacrifice of his life, thus setting a seal to the earnestness of his protest.

Whether the games ended with the removal of his mangled body is not mentioned. Doubtless when calm succeeded frenzy, many were moved with compassion for the stranger's fate. Enquiry revealed that the murdered monk had quitted his Eastern home and pilgrimed to Rome on purpose to put a stop to gladiatorial encounters. It is believed that he was named **Telemachus,** and it was his firm hope that if this mad cruelty could be made to

[1] Words of the inscription on the Emperor's statue; see EUSEBIUS, *Vita Const.*, I., 40.

cease within the sacred walls of Rome, it would end all over the world. His object was attained, for the Emperor, deeply moved by the act of heroism, sent forth a stern decree, forbidding for all time these sports in Rome.[1]

This prohibition seems to have proved quite effectual; first at Rome, and shortly after all over the Empire, this form of public rejoicing appears to have stopped entirely. Theodoret, writing



Ill. 7.—Section of the Coliseum.[2]

as a contemporary of Telemachus's intervention, further tells us that at the Emperor's instigation, the monk or hermit was placed on the list of saints. Thus the sacrifice of a single martyr's life sufficed to terminate the many human hecatombs of the Roman arena.[3]

[1] Account by Theodoret, who wrote about 450, *Hist. eccl.*, V., c. 26, ed. L. Schultze, p. 1067. *Acta SS.*, I Januar., 1, 31, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1897, p. 252, where the identity of the στάδιον mentioned by Theodoret with the Coliseum is unjustifiably questioned. Tillemont (*Empereurs, Honoré*, art. 20, p. 533 ff.) observes, with reference to a similar story about a St. Almachius (cp. *Martyrol. Rom.*, I Januar., with notes by Baronius, p. 1, 4), and quite rightly: "*Il est difficile de ne pas reconnaître que tout ce qu'on dit de S. Almaque est ou faux ou très altéré.*"

[2] The general correctness of this reconstruction may be judged from the northern and better preserved portion of the building. A few details, such as the roofing of the upper portion and the statues decorating the middle lines are based on conjecture.

[3] Theodoret says, in Byzantine style: ὁ θαυμαστὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν τοῖς νικηφόροις συνηρίθμησε μάρτυσιν.

25. These sanguinary games lasted far on into the Middle Ages in the milder form of combats between wild beasts. Prudentius had already pointed out that people ought to be content with them, for they were quite sufficient substitutes, and a stepping-stone to more refined pleasures."[1]

The **Coliseum**, from its enormous size and space, had always been a favourite place of amusement with the Roman populace, and underwent several **restorations**, especially after an earthquake in 424. One of these restorations is proved by a well-preserved inscription bearing the name of Rufus Cæcina Felix Lampadius, City Prefect under Valentinian III. Soon after, another still more important renovation took place through Valentinian's own care. This was gratefully acknowledged in an inscription running all round the inside wall above the podium. In 1880 it was found possible to set up once more in their original place the exceptionally large letters forming this inscription. Amongst other things it tells us that the Emperor Valentinian had re-drained the podium, and thus relieved the whole area of accumulated water. At the present time this work has had to be repeated, for stagnant water was often noticeable.[2]

Towards the last years of gladiatorial sports in Rome, Arpagius Lupus, Prefect of the city Annona, had erected a building at **Portus Romanus** (Porto) for the use of the wrestlers. Its inscription was recently discovered. On the reverse side it had received a curious addition, in characters belonging to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, saying that the structure had stood empty since its erection, but that now the *vir clarissimus*, Acholius Abydus, in compliance with the request of the inhabitants, had devoted it to another public purpose. Thus, at Portus Romanus also, gladiatorial combats had ceased by the beginning of the fifth century.[3]

[1] *Contra Symmachum*, II., v. 1127 ff.: "*Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena | Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.*"

[2] Regarding the first restoration, see LANCIANI, *Iscrizioni del anfiteatro Flavio*, in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1880, p. 211 ff.; for the second, see LANCIANI, ibid., p. 226. The letters on an average are a little over a foot in height.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1868, p. 84 ff. This probably refers, according to de Rossi, to a *ludus gladiatorius*, or gladiatorial school belonging to the community.

Transformative Action of Christianity upon Social Life in Rome

26. It was a triumph for Christianity, as such, to have succeeded in putting down the sanguinary and inhuman sports just described. Everywhere else the strenuous efforts of the Church were bent on extirpating heathen elements from general social habits. This constant struggle between opposed moral forces must not be lost sight of in a History of Christian Rome, and we shall try to sketch it in its broad outlines.

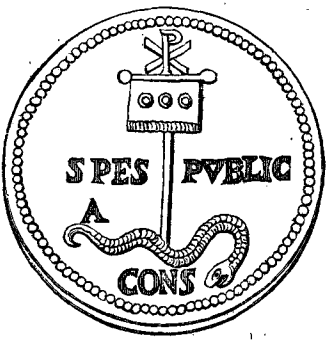
Paganism had created a wide chasm between high and low, rich and poor. This "deep gulf fixed" was the first difficulty for the Church to bridge over. But it was effected in time, thanks to constant preaching of the Christian Law of Love, and the example and spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by many high-minded believers. Many suffering from want and sickness in wretched hovels adjoining the marble palaces of Rome gained courage to endure their existence from the words of the presbyters or their fellow-Christians. Many of the rich nobility who had joined the Church were also ready to give largely of the wealth they had inherited. Several cases occurred, too, in the city where families of high rank set free whole troops of slaves, or assigned the broad acres of their estates to the Church for the benefit of the poor.

Slavery, that open sore of all antiquity, was legally and actually rendered more tolerable by the recognition of the dignity of humanity and by increased facilities of emancipation. The new and heaven-sent principle that all men were brothers through their common Saviour Christ paved the way for the final suppression of slavery.

Pious foundations and hospitals were gradually established in Rome and other large cities for the benefit of orphans, invalids, and sufferers of all sorts. Those who had suffered wrong and had no means of self-defence found advocates among the Church's *defensores*. In Rome the latter had quite early formed themselves into a regular legal corporation. Moreover, every believer possessed a sympathetic guardian of all just claims in his bishop. Episcopal *audientia*, that is, the findings of ecclesiastical courts, were accepted by the secular tribunals. The contrast between the Church and heathenism in their respective treatment

of the destitute had a beneficial and conciliatory result. Formerly severity and want of feeling had been characteristics of Roman jurisprudence. Now, however, a special sphere of legal usefulness became open to the Church in the public oversight of those most wanting protection—in legal language, *personae miserabiles*. Many cruel statutes of heathen origin were gradually eliminated from the penal code. Among these were sundry barbarous modes of punishment; exaggerated fiscal claims and demands; unjustifiable municipal interference with regard to wills and legacies; bad treatment of soldiers, enemies, prisoners, &c.; and, finally, the rule which curtailed the civil rights of celibates and childless persons, and various other regulations opposed to Christian ethics. The legislative codes compiled by Theodosius and Justinian clearly indicate the course pursued by the State regarding each subject mentioned as soon as it came under the guidance of the spirit of the Church. The previously prevailing conception of absolute governmental omnipotence was modified by a more reasonable view of public power. The importance of the individual was increased with a corresponding increase in private initiative and in the general health of the whole body politic.

27. In the family circle heathen exaggeration of parental rights was reduced to its proper limits. Exposure and the slaying of children were heavily punished. The relations between the head of the family and his wife was so far improved as to recognise the dignity of woman and the true character of family life. By dint of laws framed at church synods and regulations made by bishops and popes, as well as by ordinary legal enactments, the sanctity of marriage, the education of children, the peace of the household, in fact general life, work, and public action were hedged round with protective legislation. During heathen times the statutes of Roman law framed under Christian influence would have been hailed as so many oracles of the gods.



Ill. 8.—VICTORY OF THE CROSS OVER THE DRAGON.
Coin of Constantine.[1]

[1] From MADDEN, *Christian embl., Numism. Chronicle*, vol. XVIII., p. 76; cp. GARRUCCI, *Arte cristiana*, tav. 481; KRAUS, *Gesch. der christlichen Kunst*, I., 109. As Kraus rightly points out, the dragon was the military sign of the Roman cohorts; in some sense, then, the figure may have been aptly applied to the latter years of Constantine's reign.

28. Instead of quoting a long series of details, we shall only bring forward two grand principles which the Church had the unspeakable merit of introducing into a morally perverted world. These were the principles of **Authority** and **Freedom.** Through the former doctrine, the principle of Authority, the religion of Christ inculcated the practice of obedience for God's sake, whenever submission seemed a duty. It surrounded rulers—whether in Church or State—and ruled, with the sacred bonds of conscience. Coherence and cohesion were thus established throughout the social body, and an end made of the former distinctly Pagan system of division and suppression. The other principle, that of true liberty, restored to each individual his natural inheritance of personal independence; for the Church's message to the rulers was: Touch not the rights inherent in each conscience and founded on God's holy Law, otherwise your subordinate, conscious of his responsibility, will reply: "God must be obeyed rather than man."

On the foundation of these principles of Authority and Freedom, the religion of Christ taught virtues hitherto unknown in the world. She had the high privilege of strengthening and illustrating all her loving counsels by pointing to the marvellous example of infinite goodness left by her Divine Founder, and especially to His humility. As one of the earliest Church prayers expresses it: "Through the humility of Thine Eternal Son, Thou, Lord, hast raised up the prostrate world."[1]

Church teaching was in strong opposition to all heathen religious doctrine and mythology, which shed glamour over the vilest vices by the example of their grovelling **deities.** Writings of the Church Fathers bear witness to the strong impression made on all minds by precisely this strong contrast between heathen creeds and Christian ideals. Drastic comments upon these very points were to be found in the popular Acts of Martyrs. For instance, in one of them, a Christian, ordered to sacrifice to the gods, replies with the simple question, "These gods? Are they not themselves guilty of the crimes your laws punish most severely?"[2] One heard similar strictures on the heathen moral code from many Christian poets. As Prudentius aptly remarks:

[1] Dom. II. post Pascha: "*Deus, qui in Filii tui humilitate iacentem mundum erexisti,*" &c.

[2] Cp. the *Passio S. Theodoreti Ancyrani*, No. 24 (RUINART, *Acta SS. martyrum*, p. 340).

"Were your Jupiter called into Court, he could scarcely escape the *lex Iulia* against adulterers, and the *lex Scatinia* would oblige you to put him into irons."[1]

On the other hand, the lofty example of the Divine Founder of Christianity dwelt in the hearts of His followers as an incentive to virtue, as a reason for courage to the weary, as a supreme goal to the strong. The Church in Rome ceaselessly reminded Christians of the golden words addressed to their ancestors by the Apostle **Paul** in his Epistle to the Romans: 'Strive to grow like unto your Divine Master; turn from the things of this vain world and its desires; crucify the old man with his affections and lusts, remembering the sufferings and death of Christ. For if in Christ all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. Be not conformed to this world, but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ.'[2]

Failures and Opposition

29. When we turn to the difficulties raised by the spirit of heathenism against these claims of the New Religion, their results are only too sadly apparent. In the fourth and even in the fifth century Christian palaces and churches were full of many **sham converts.** Court favour to Christianity and outward alteration in politics, rendering future restoration of the temples and former ritual hopeless, induced numbers of people to profess conversion who only pretended to belong to the Church, and through their want of genuine conviction, and even by unholy lives, brought discredit upon religion. To these were also added great numbers of thoroughly believing but **weakly** Christians, from whom Paganism wrung many concessions. It induced them to meet it half-way, and they thereby often became almost traitors to their new religion. The Church Fathers were indignant at the part taken by such feeble believers in the repulsive festivals and rites still practised under directly idolatrous influence. "To what purpose your human respect for the mighty?" says the great Christian teacher **Augustine.** "Can we hope in this way to win the world to the law of Christ? Practise toleration and courtesy towards the individual heathen, but profess a decided faith in

[1] *Peristeph.*, hymn X., v. 201 ff., ed. DRESSEL, p. 398.
[2] *Romans*, VI., 5, 8; XII., 2; XIII., 14.

opposition to their delusions. Are you Christians? then turn your back on their silly assemblies, make them thus blush for their reduced numbers, even if they cannot make up their minds to share your belief." [1]

Such renunciation of communication with the heathen was all the more necessary because large masses of Christians were still dominated by **superstition.** A form of prayer in the so-called Leonine Sacramentary, in use at Rome during the fourth and fifth centuries, is especially directed against this tendency to revert to heathen superstitions.[2]

30. Another serious difficulty in the way of Christian reformation was the deep-seated public **immorality.** Paganism had made forum, bath, and theatre, privileged centres of flagrant misconduct. All feeling of shame fled before the open triumph of vice. This was especially the case in Rome. She appeared to many Christians like a second Babylon, whose fall must be at hand, while their bishops and pastors were almost in despair lest, in spite of all their efforts to stem the tide of evil, its overflow might again swamp the ground they had so far gained.[3]

Though nominally Christian, the highest circles and the Imperial Court were unhappily foremost in setting an example of great levity. When, moreover, the invading barbarians had succeeded in gaining the upper hand, their native coarseness and brutality combined with the radical vices of the conquered race to bring about a still more intolerable state of things. Public **excitement,** fear of revolution, wars, and struggles of rival races, kept men's minds in a state of ferment and anxiety little favourable to moral culture.

In calmer times it would have been easier to overcome spiritual difficulties. Popular education would have followed a more regular course, and the healing power of the Church could have acted more promptly on the worn-out social system. Chris-

[1] AUGUSTINUS, *Sermo* 62, c. 7, n. 11 (*P. L.*, XXXVIII., 420): "*Deserite solemnitates eorum, deserite nugas eorum,*" &c.

[2] *Preces*, &c., n. 37 (*P. L.*, LV., 83, 377, ed. FELTOE, p. 79). The prayer was that *omnis profanitas* might disappear from their heart, since the followers of such vain superstitions have been overcome (*quum vanae superstitionis ipsos quoque removeris* [*Deus*] *sectatores*); at a time when, *ritu pestiferae vetustatis abolito*, truth is triumphant, believers should have nothing to do with diabolical *figmenta.*

[3] *Cod. Theod.*, XV., 7, *De scaenicis*, 1, 5, with the commentary of Gothofredus; also 1, 8, 9, 12. AMBROSIUS, *De obitu Valentiniani*, No. 17, and when praising Gratian, *In psalm. LXI.*, n. 20, &c. Cp. AMBROSIUS, *De ieiunio*, c. 12, 18, 22, 23, and AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. 14, c. 5. In the latter passage Ammianus proceeds *ad ea monstranda, quae Romae gererentur.*

tian schools would have sprung up more quickly and in greater number, and Christian ethics would have developed better both in form and substance. As it was—and here we touch upon another important obstacle—the Church for a long time possessed no important training-schools or colleges. She lacked exponents of secular learning at a time when pagans in comparison could boast superior science and culture. The spirit of Paganism dominated literature and taste as its still inviolate domain, though during the fifth century the intellectual poverty of its productions gave it but small right to authority. Many Christians, holding high positions in the world, had indeed once more devoted themselves to their inherited classical studies with enthusiasm and success. Yet, in spite of all this, heathen learning exercised a too potent fascination. The philosophy and rhetoric of men like Symmachus, Claudian, Ausonius, Ammianus, Eutropius, and Macrobius were still almost exclusively dominant over the field of general public literature. These and many other brilliant authors held the world much too long under the spell of their genius. The school of philosophy at Athens, the last dwindling refuge of Pagan classicism, was not closed until 529, by order of the Emperor Justinian.

Ill. 9.—Christ as Conqueror of Paganism.

Ancient Christian Lamp from Carthage.[1]

31. But the worst obstacle of all with which the Church had to cope was the Government of the day, for though nominally Christian it still retained in its midst far too many Pagan elements.

The State declared itself obedient to the Cross, yet could not divest itself of the heathen idea that the Emperor was omnipotent. The Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, is still a proof of this fact, in spite of all the salutary measures for which Christianity had to thank him or which he owed to it. The Government, still conscious of its supreme power, often hampered free development of religious fervour and the action of ecclesiastical authority. Through the frequent favours shown to heresy and

[1] Cp. with the other specimens in Vol. III., Ills. 184, 185.

schism within the pale of Christianity it created disunion when the progress of Christian culture could only be secured by unity, and prevented the Church from penetrating to the very hearts of men, where help and healing were most required. The intervention of State authority in ecclesiastical affairs is an evil of which the root must be sought as far back as the time of Constantine the Great. It was then, as ever, in a great measure brought about by sectarians, whose one effort was to obtain State protection against the condemnations of their false doctrines pronounced by the bishops.

32. In spite of all these hindrances, the Church went on her way undaunted.

While directing her energies against the last vestiges of Pagan modes of thought, she was at the same time enabled to exercise much power over men's minds, elevating and transforming them by those divine means which are incomprehensible to those outside her influence. They are the **silent means of grace** which religion affords; the holy Sacrifice of the Altar, entrusted to her by divine authority; the Sacraments and Prayer. In the years when martyrs were called for, these treasures, of which only believers can be conscious, formed the superhuman leaven of the Christian communities, and now again their working is visible, when the time has come for the Christian basilicas and Christian palaces to undertake the task of expelling from the world the last remnants of Paganism.

The struggle was a real War of Independence, but it was waged with such calm and quiet that it was a matter for surprise to find how essentially the Church had transformed all society in Rome.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that such educational work must be signalised in history by powerful popular movements or grand historical scenes. To elevate and purify the whole mode of thought of a period is a different task from the conquest of a country. St. Augustine explains this to certain contemporaries who failed to appreciate the work done by the Church where social morality was concerned, because they wrongly fancied that no good could be done without sounding the trumpets. Augustine himself thought quite otherwise. He declares that only such proceedings as are opposed to law and order usually try to attract the world's attention by pomp and parade. His actual words are

such a useful guide for historians that we will quote them. One is too often tempted to record only striking and superficial events, while quite losing sight of the calm steady course of life and its social conditions. "Watch the times more closely," says the great Church Father, "look below the surface and do not always dwell upon what stands out in bold relief. You will there find much of interest. Can you not see how many are following Christ's precepts concerning self-denial and renunciation in order to obtain treasure in Heaven through imitating Him? Can you not see how many, even when retaining earthly possessions, have learnt to use them well and wisely? Do you not see, in quietude and seclusion, those who have in heart renounced the world, and strive in solitary struggle to despise it?"[1]

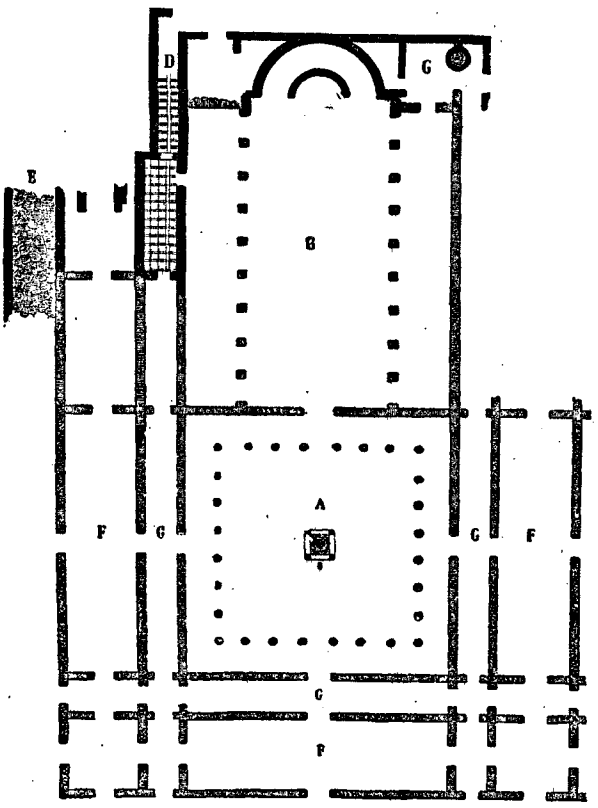
Men of Mark during Rome's Transformation

33. In spite of the silence in which spiritual struggles were fought out, the Christian history of Rome supplies us with many well-known and famous heroes, as well as with whole series of brilliant incidents. It abounds in scenes which were heard of far beyond the city walls, and interested equally Christians and heathen.

Pammachius, a member of the Senate and descendant of Roman consuls—that ornament of the old family of the Camilli, as Jerome describes him—as well as his pious spouse, Paulina, was distinguished in Rome through extensive and unwearied charity, and the practice of every noble virtue. On the death of Paulina, to everybody's astonishment, he calmly resigned all worldly honours hitherto retained. The whilom Proconsul, simply clad, forsook his vast possessions and devoted himself to the service of "Christ's brethren," that is, to the sick and needy. "Then,"

[1] *In psalm. LXXX.*, n. 1 (*P. L.*, XXXVII., 1034): "*Noli hoc solum videre quod publice fluit; est aliquid quod quaerendo invenias.*"—"*Ce fut dans le* fond intime, *dans les entrailles mêmes de l'être humain, que l'église porta le remède. . . . C'est cette* lente éducation, *que nous avons vue commencer au quatrième siècle avec un succès encore douteux, avec une ardeur déjà aussi ingénieuse qu'infatigable. Elle va se continuer par une série de docteurs, de saints, de papes, qui déploieront pour la mener à fin, les uns l'effet pressant des exhortations, les autres l'effet menaçant des anathèmes, tous la prédication, plus efficace que toute autre, de leur exemple.*" Duke Albert de Broglie thus summarises the result of his work, *L'église et l'empire romain au 4e siècle*, when speaking of the Church's educational activity (3e partie, tome 2, Paris, 1866, p. 501). Cp. p. 482 ff., his remarks upon its moral benefits in family life. Similar passages might be cited from the work of Amédée Thierry, which extends more into the fifth century: *Saint-Jérôme, la société chrétienne à Rome*, &c. (2e éd., Paris, 1875), as well as from many other writers upon history and philosophy who have risen superior to superficial and ephemeral views.

exclaimed St. Jerome, "the diamonds and pearls and treasures which had served to adorn his consort became loaves to feed the hungry, and the rich gold and silken tissues with which his palaces were hung no longer proclaimed worldly vanity and ambition, but were changed into rough woollen garments to clothe the shivering poor. All that his ancestors had formerly squandered in luxury was now used in aid of good works. His palace in old days was full of friends and flatterers, now it is surrounded by every form of suffering. Until lately Pammachius passed through the city surrounded by a crowd of clients; now, as soon as he is visible, the grateful poor form his guard of honour. While others lavish their vast wealth on games and shows to attract the populace and thus attain to consular dignity, this Roman, one might say, so dispenses his riches as to deserve heaven."[1]



Ill. 10.—Hospital of Pammachius at Portus Romanus. Ground plan.[2]

About two years after the loss of his wife—in 398—Pammachius, with the remains of his wealth, founded a large hostel in Portus Romanus, at the mouth of the Tiber.

[1] Hieron., *Ep.*, 66, n. 5 (*P. L.*, XXII., 641). Regarding Pammachius and his large circle of friends, see Tillemont, *Histoire eccl.*, X., 567 ff.

[2] Ground plan from de Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1866, p. 103; cp. Holtzinger, *Altchristl. Architektur*, p. 25. A.—The Quadriporticus, with its fountain in the middle. B.—The Basilica or Triclinium. C.—The Baptistery (?). In St. Stephen's basilica, now brought to light on the Via Latina, the baptistery occupies this position. D.—Two open courts, possibly to allow the admission of light. E.—An ancient paved roadway. FFF, GGG.—Respectively the greater and smaller ambulatories.

Here strangers arriving by sea and requiring help, as well as the ordinary sick and poor, received kindly shelter, care, and succour. It was the founder's pleasure to wait personally upon the guests of his hospital. He sought to imitate the humility practised by our common Saviour. In aristocratic circles, of course, such condescension was very variously judged. A former Consul of the Campania, however, who well knew Rome's state of moral degradation at the time, writes in these words: "Thou, O Rome, hast no need to dread the judgment with which thou art threatened. Thou dost certainly deserve to be called the Babylon of the Apocalypse, but, if thy senators set no other examples than those of benevolence and charity, then thou art not lost."[1]

Paulinus of Aquitania, who thus spoke, had himself withdrawn, since becoming a Christian, from the highest functions. His example at Rome had greatly stimulated his brethren in the faith, and he now lived at the little town of Nola in the peace of solitude and study. Paulinus became celebrated as a poet of pure classic form and delicate feeling. In 409 he was appointed Bishop of Nola on account of his virtues and knowledge of the world. In accepting this office he had the care of the poor at heart most of all. Even in one of his poetical works he expresses his warm interest in this duty. He takes occasion to give us a vivid and accurate sketch of one of those hostels for the feeding of the destitute, such as were so frequently established by the Christians of that date. In the *Triclinium* we are shown the long array of benches along which the poorly clad but happy guests are ranged. We hear the cheerful, garrulous old men, the crowd of moving and chatting women, nor does the poet even forget the canine friends which accompanied the poor in their visits.[2]

34. We invite our readers to accompany us in visiting such ruins as remain of an early Christian hostel. It is the one founded at Porto by the former Proconsul, Pammachius.

The **hostel of Pammachius** (Ill. 10) extended over a surprisingly large area. The square forecourt (*quadriporticus*) was surrounded on three sides by corridors leading to three long wards. On the fourth side stood a pillared basilica with three aisles and a spacious circular apse, flanked by side-rooms. From

[1] PAULIN. NOLAN., *Ep.*, 13, *ad Pammachium*, No. 15 (*P. L.*, LXI., 216): "*si talia semper ederent munera senatores tui.*"

[2] *In natali* 12, poema 20, v. 112 ff. (*P. L.*, LXI., 555); ed. HARTEL, *Corp. script. eccl. lat.*, XXX., p. 147.

the ruins it is impossible to decide whether this basilica was a church from the first, as well as later, or whether it was originally intended for some secular purpose. Fragments of inscriptions, especially those from the workshop of Furius Dionysius Philocalus in Rome—known for the work it undertook on behalf of Damasus—make clear that the buildings date from about the end of the fourth century. In the centre of the court a fountain bears a poetical inscription, written by St. Jerome to decorate some other fountain, and inviting all who thirst to approach and drink.[1]

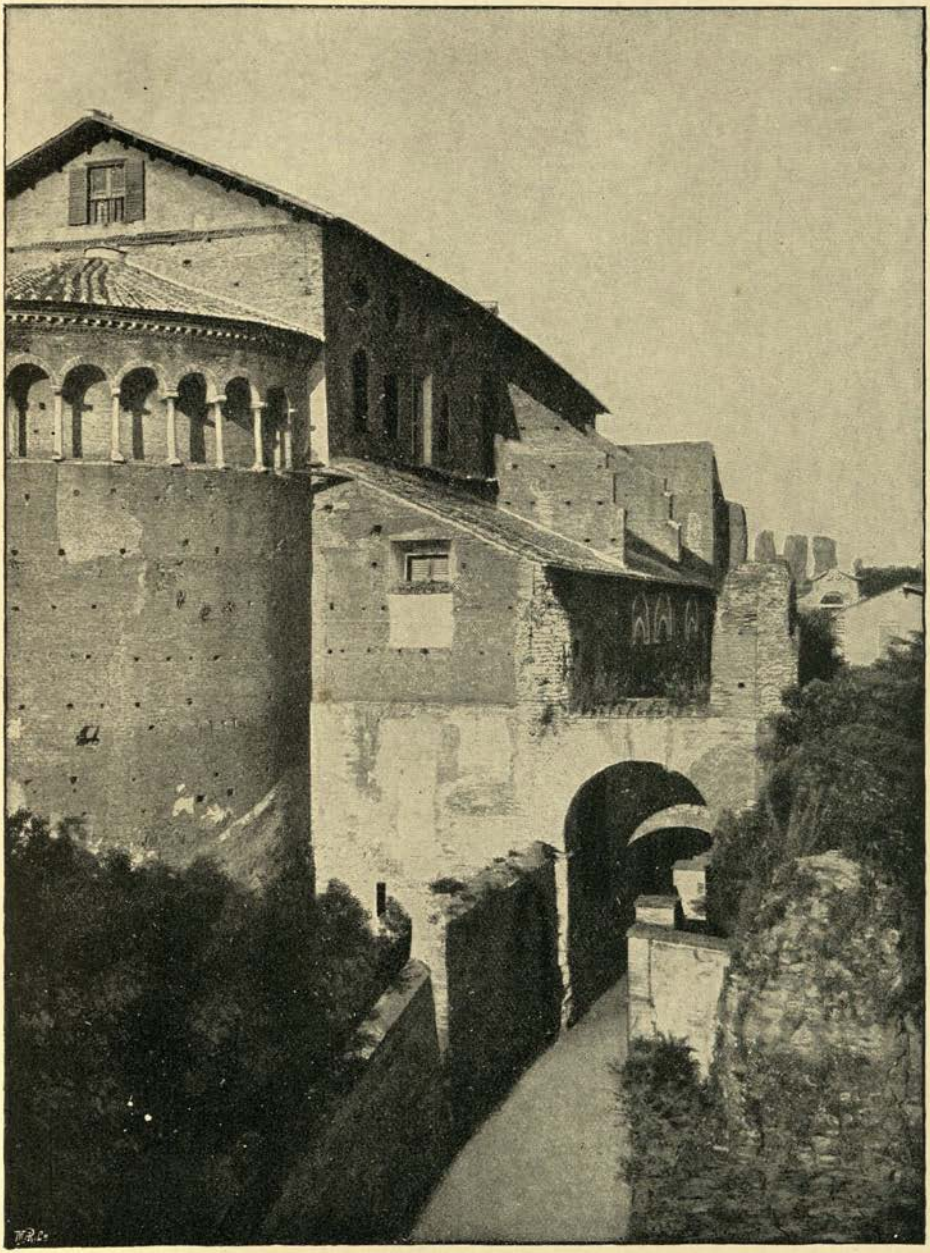
The different parts of the building were adapted from structures already existing in or near the spot, as was usually the case during the fourth and fifth century. This is evident from the pillars and capitals discovered. One of the latter was actually decorated with a roughly carved copy of the seven-branched candlestick, and must therefore have come from some ancient Jewish building. On the other hand, all the household utensils found bore Christian symbols. Plates, spoons, bowls, glasses, bottles, &c., bore a Latin cross or the monogram of Christ. One pictorial representation on the fragment of a jar is noteworthy. It represents our Saviour giving a tablet to St. Peter with the inscription, "The Law of the Lord." This was a favourite subject in Rome during the fourth century, and is repeated on several other monuments.[2]

35. Another recent archæological prize is also connected with Pammachius, and is of still greater importance. This same Christian senator was the founder of a well-known Roman church. He altered his huge house into a place of Christian worship, dedicated to the martyrs John and Paul (Ill. 11).[3] These two witnesses unto blood had been put to death not long before under Julian or perhaps a little previously. They belonged, so we are told, to the Roman aristocracy, and had suffered for the faith in

[1] "*Quisque sitit veniat cupiens haurire fluenta.*" DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1866, p. 37 ff.: *I monumenti cristiani di Porto.* Ibid., p. 99: *Lo xenodochio di Pammachio in Porto*, with notes and plans by Lanciani. Ibid., 1868, p. 33 ff.: *Utensili cristiani scoperti in Porto.*

[2] J. FICKER, *Die altchristlichen Bildwerke im christlichen Museum des Lateran*, 1890, p. 31. The fragments bearing decorative designs are now in the Lateran Museum. Ficker describes them in detail (p. 29 ff.). There is an illustration of a glass plate fragment with a scene similar to that mentioned in the text in DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1868, p. 38.

[3] From a new photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani. The remains of the old mansion lying to the left of the road leading through the gate may be traced up to about one half of the height of the church. The windows of the clerestory were added by Pammachius. The gallery of the apse is a mediæval work.



Ill. 11.—Basilica of SS. John and Paul on the Clivus Scauri, constructed in the Dwelling of Pammachius.

the lower rooms of their own mansion on the Cælian Mount. They had also been buried in the same place. The existence of this church near the same site, where one can still visit it, is established as far back as the beginning of the fifth century.[1]

It was generally called *titulus Pammachii*. An inscription above the entrance, dating from its earliest days, announced its foundation by Pammachius, the Fosterer of the Faith (*cultor fidei*), as he was called with great truth.[2]

It was in 1887 that the interesting series of discoveries at this spot was begun before our eyes. The Christian mansion itself, in which Pammachius had lived and laboured, seemed gradually to rise again from the depths, its main outlines becoming visible within the lofty walls of the church. This astonishing discovery is an evident proof of the wealth of ancient monuments still hidden under Roman soil, which from time to time emerge to confirm or to throw light on historic Christian traditions. Owing to want of precise and indisputable data, the traditions concerning the basilica of John and Paul had laboured under certain slight suspicion. Now, however, the monument stands unquestionably before us already almost exhaustively known in all its details, and it is easy to follow the remarkable transformation effected by Pammachius of a still partly Pagan palace into a Christian church.

Any one nowadays mounting the deserted street beside this church of the two martyrs above mentioned, by the Clivus Scauri and up the Cælian Hill, has one of the most impressive pictures of Ancient Rome before him. He approaches the church entrance under the picturesque arches which bridge over the road. Right and left these arches are supported by masonry dating from Roman days. The first object to strike the eye is the massive circular tribune visible on our illustration of the church (Ill. 11). One sees how this has been built into solid early Roman masonry of the kind known as reticulated (*opus reticulatum*). The whole plan is now clear. For about half-way up, the side of the church adjoining the Clivus Scauri is still the almost unchanged masonry

[1] DUCHESNE, *Liber pontificalis*, 1, 236. Also in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 7 (1887), 21. At first the church used to be called *titulus Byzanti*, or *Pammachii*; later, *titulus SS. Iohannis et Pauli.*

[2] "*Quis tantas Christo venerandas condidit aedes,* | *Si quaeris, cultor Pammachius fidei.*" Published from the Lorscher Codex of the Vatican by DE ROSSI, *Inscript. christ.*, 2, 1, 150. The expression "*cultor fidei*," to distinguish the Christian from the heathen, appears also in the Canon of the Mass, according to which the sacrifice is still offered "*pro omnibus fidei cultoribus.*"

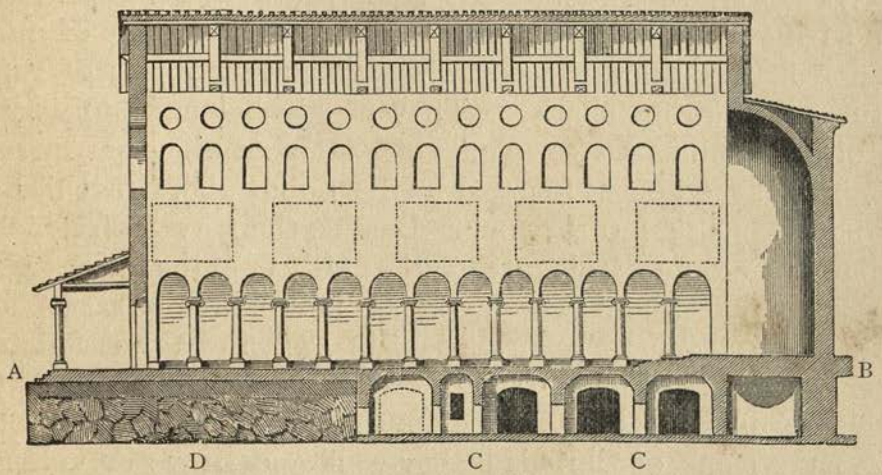
of the ancient Roman mansion, and has two superposed rows of thirteen antique windows. When altering the dwelling-house into a church, Pammachius had all the other elevated stories removed except the side wall just described. The underground rooms were filled in with rubbish and earth, only the vault or crypt containing the graves of the two saints remained clear. Space was thus obtained to erect the church upon the ancient foundations. The deep subterranean chamber enclosing the bodies of the martyrs was made accessible from the new building.[1]

36. It would be out of place here to dwell upon the arrangement of the lower part of the mansion, now cleared of all the rubbish which encumbered it. Everywhere traces are visible of a rich and aristocratic household, even down to the huge jars (*amphorae*) discovered, which, according to their inscription, formerly contained choice Spanish wine, and the baths, supplied with hot and cold water, together with their underground heaters, which were discovered in 1898. The Christian monogram, so much in use at that period, appears here in curiously varied connection. It not only decorates the *amphorae*, but even serves as a fastening to a window of the original church of Pammachius. Some pictures in the rooms of the palace might have been the work of Pagan artists, for they are prior to the date of the alteration. No representations survive, however, of actual heathen religion or its superstitious ritual. Amidst these secular pictures we find a vivid reminiscence of the days when this church served as a Christian dwelling-house in an imposing orante, similar to those so often noticed on Christian sarcophagi and in the Catacombs. It represents the transfigured form of a departed soul praying with outstretched arms, and looking down towards the space which we now suppose to be the triclinium. It may be the memorial of a departed relative, for she appears in the dress

[1] The first detailed account was published by the learned and lucky discoverer, P. Germano, a Passionist. See *Röm. Quartalschrift für christl. Alterthumskunde*, 1888, p. 137 ff., 322 ff., 404 (with plan); 1889, p. 71 ff.; 1891, p. 290 ff.; and in the *American Journal of Archæology*, 6 (1890), No. 3 (with plan); 7 (1891), Nos. 1–2. Cp. with GATTI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1887, p. 151 ff.; 1888, p. 321 ff.; HÜLSEN in the *Mittheilungen des archäologischen Institutes*, 1889, p. 261 ff. (with plan). A later plan in LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 350. DE ROSSI, *Conferenza archeol.*, Febr. 24, 1889; *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1889, p. 89; cp. ibid., 1890, p. 29 ff. and Pl. III. Cuggiani of Rome published (1889) the exhaustive work of P. Germano, entitled, *La casa celimontana dei SS. martiri Giovanni e Paolo*; cp. my own article in the *Civiltà cattolica*, 1895, 1, 214. The author relies too much on the doubtful *Acts of John and Paul*. Allard (*La maison des martyrs* in the *Études d'hist. et d'archéol.*) does the same. On the *Acts* see PIO FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Nuovo note agiografiche*, in *Studi e testi*, 9, p. 56.

of a lady of rank, vested in a rich tunic with the customary stripes (*clavi*), and a veil falling from the head over her shoulders in front; she has a string of pearls round her neck, and golden earrings. Graceful designs of flowers and animals are grouped around her, and even the theatre-masks, traditional in the art of the day. Most of the space in this hall is, however, devoted to representations of various philosophers and rhetors.

The visitor will, however, be struck especially by the Christian pictures in one of the passages of the old mansion, probably dating from early in the fifth century. These may be seen near the little window or fenestella above the sarcophagus of the saints. To the right and left are depicted the prison life and the death



Ill. 12.—Ancient Christian Basilica of SS. John and Paul constructed in a Dwelling-house.

Reconstructed section.[1]

of the martyrs, who are here represented quite otherwise than the *Acts of SS. John and Paul* would lead us to expect. Instead of high officials of the court or military officers of rank, we here find the saints depicted in the dress of common people and with a woman as their companion in prison and death. All three kneel together blindfolded, awaiting the death-stroke. We are also introduced to the saints in their glory. One we see portrayed as an orante and worshipped by a man and woman representing Pammachius and his wife, the founders. Another scene shows

[1] Vide Germano, *La casa celimontana*, p. 295. AB.—Floor of the (present) basilica, added by Pammachius, and concealing the basement of the original dwelling-house. CC.—Remains of the ancient dwelling. D.—Portion of the house as yet not at all, or only partially, excavated.

two women beseeching the good offices of the martyrs, whilst in yet another a male personage is offering a large chalice. We seem to find an allusion to this last manner of honouring the saints in a poem on SS. John and Paul by Florus of Lyons: "Ever attending at the court of the celestial King, they pray for the faithful nations who offer pious gifts."[1]

In the church of the Martyrs John and Paul, Pammachius's generous zeal furnished the city with a sacred fane worthy of the last victims of Roman persecution. A preface in the earliest preserved Roman Sacramentary says: "Others who sealed their testimony with their blood, form a Crown of Glory about the City . . . but these Victors have been permitted to rest in her heart."[2]

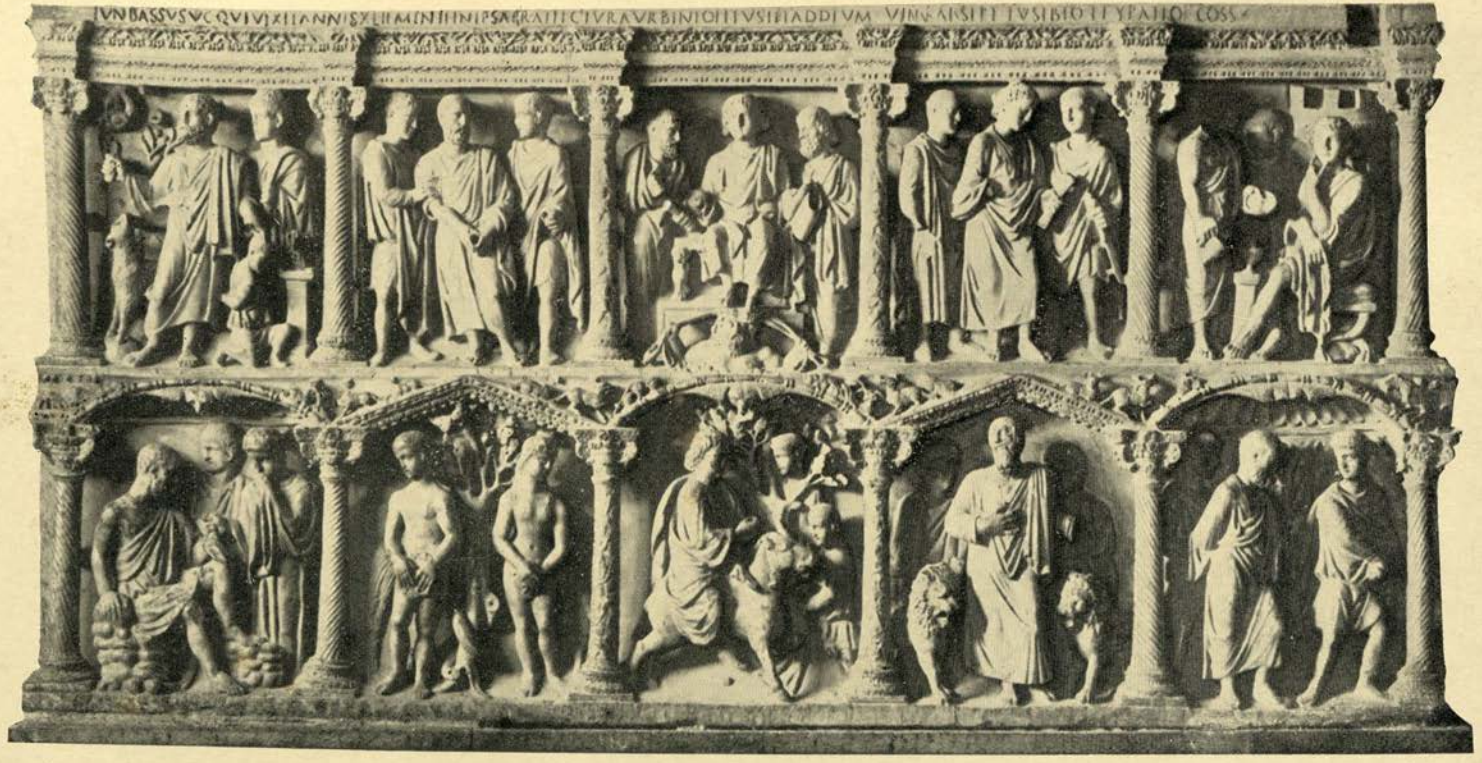
37. During the lifetime of Pammachius and Paulinus, and for some ten years subsequently, many men and women of ancient Roman lineage filled the city with brilliant examples of exalted virtue and untiring charity. They mostly belonged to very distinguished families—descendants of Paulus Æmilius or Marcellus, members of the houses founded by the Julii, Fabii, Gracchi, Bassi, by Scipio, and so forth. Junius Bassus, the City Prefect, is still famous on account of his sarcophagus (Ill. 13),[3] the finest masterpiece of its kind extant. Another remarkable Christian sarcophagus is that of Petronius Probus, consul in 371, now preserved at St. Peter's, near Michelangelo's Pietà. All these men were senators, besides holding other high offices, even to being consuls. But they prized the name of Christian above all, and strove by voluntary abnegation to realise in themselves the highest ideal of Christian life either by pious activity in the world or in the silent seclusion of the cloister.

In their hereditary palace on the Aventine, almost regal in its splendour, St. **Marcella** lived alone with her mother Albina and her sister Asella. She devoted herself exclusively to good works,

[1] "*Sidereo regi sublimi semper in aula adstantes,*" praying for "*populi qui pia vota ferunt*" (*Carm.*, II., 45). The other pictures seem to belong to the first half of the fourth century. A specimen found in the oldest shrine (*confessio*) of the two saints is reproduced in the *Röm. Quartalschrift* (1888, colour-plate VI.) after Wilpert and Swoboda. The other frescoes discovered are of later date, and need not be considered here.

[2] . . . "*Ut non solum passionibus martyrum gloriosis urbis istius ambitum* (*Deus*) *coronares, sed etiam in ipsis visceribus civitatis sancti Iohannis et Pauli victricia membra reconderes*" (*Sacramentar. Leonian.* No. 14), (*P. L.*, LV., 48). Cp. texts of the itineraries, DE ROSSI, *Roma sotterranea*, I, 138, 175.

[3] After the photograph which I described in the *Römische Quartalschrift* in 1896. Cp. DE WAAL, *Der Sarkophag des J. Bassus*, a paper delivered at the Congress of Christian archæology at Rome in 1899, in which will be found a larger photograph of the whole sarcophagus, and some excellent ones of its details; cp. Vol. II., Ill. 138.



Ill. 13.—Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus in the Lower Church of St. Peter's.

sacred study, reading, and meditation upon Scripture. Left a widow after seven months of happy wedded life, she even refused the hand of Cerealis, uncle of the Cæsar Gallus. She gathered round her a band of high-minded women sharing her views, and thus, directed by St. Jerome, she founded the first spiritual community in Rome. Marcella's self-denial and liberality were only rivalled by the virtues of the celebrated **Paula**, one of whose daughters, Paulina, had been married to Pammachius. Her other daughter, Blesilla, all too soon removed by death, was famous for great learning. She read Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, while, as St. Jerome says, the sacred Scriptures were never out of her hands. Her mother, Paula, was attracted by the religious fascination of the holy places in Palestine, and, after dividing her magnificent fortune among the poor, she quitted the luxurious city with her third daughter, Eustochium, in order to found a conventual home in Bethlehem for herself and other pious women. Revelling in her solitude, Paula writes thence to her friend Marcella: "The Church of Rome, under whose shadow you dwell, is certainly a holy Church, and her relics of the Apostles and Martyrs are justly venerated. The true Faith, preached by the Apostles, dwells with you, and each day the name of Christ towers higher and higher above the ruins of Paganism. . . . Here in Palestine, in this field of Christ, all is simplicity and peace. Wherever you turn your steps you hear the labourer, bending over his plough, giving utterance to God's praise; the reaper, pausing for rest, chants the psalms, and the husbandman prunes his vines while murmuring the words of David. Such are the love-songs of this land, such is the shepherd's delight, such are the lays of the countryman." The eloquent writer urges her friends to join her, sharply commenting on the disorders rife in Rome, which she calls "a Babylon, predestined to destruction." "Come out from her, come out from her, my people," she cries with the Apocalypse, "lest thou partake of her iniquity and share in her doom." And as if she could foresee Rome's repeated capture by the barbarians, she has recourse to the words of warning of the Prophet Jeremias: "Flee ye from the midst of Babylon and let every one save his own life, for Babylon, that great city, is suddenly fallen and destroyed."[1]

[1] *Ep. Paulae et Eustochii ad Marcellam*, c. 11, among the letters of St. Jerome, No. 46 (*P. L.*, XXII., 490). *Apoc.*, XVIII., 4; *Jer.*, LI., 6, 8.

Many distinguished Romans, whose minds were specially imbued with the spirit of Christianity, settled at that time among the sites rendered sacred in Palestine by our Saviour's presence. They were quite unconsciously preparing safe retreats for a still larger number of the Roman nobility during the awful days which were soon to overtake the city. Jerusalem, the City of Peace, was destined to shelter many fugitives from the calamities now about to overwhelm the City of the Tiber.

38. Another highly respected figure must be added to the group of holy women just mentioned: **Fabiola,** belonging to the famous family of the Fabii. Young and wealthy, she did open penance, as a Christian, at the door of the Lateran basilica, for having committed the sin of leaving her husband—a thorough profligate—and marrying again, though this was permitted by the Roman civil code. Full of shame and remorse, she forsook the world, bequeathed her property to the poor, and personally nursed sufferers in a hospital she had herself founded in Rome. Later this heroic soul also sought strength and solitude in the Holy Land.

Lea, a rich and gifted widow, also set a laudable example to the Romans. Like Marcella, she was the centre of a circle of pious maidens. "Formerly surrounded by crowds of slaves," say the chronicles, "she is now a model of humility among the many she befriends."

We find numerous men of high rank in close spiritual connection with St. Jerome.

This Church Father, in his letters, writes to **Oceanus**—apparently a noble layman—calling him, with all familiarity, his son; and others, such as Marcellinus and Domnio, are similarly addressed and treated. Oceanus was noted for his intense love of study. He shared his teacher's, St. Jerome's, boundless devotion to the Scriptures.

The priest **Domnio** was also both a scholar and an ascetic. Later, on account of his virtue and charity, he, like most of those mentioned above, became the recipient of saintly honours.

39. In 397, **Pinianus,** a wealthy youth of seventeen, married the pious **Melania** the Younger, granddaughter of Melania the Elder, who was so highly revered on account of her position and religious influence. Their home was among the most important of the metropolis, but both bride and bridegroom followed in the footsteps of the elder Melania. For seven years they lived in

Rome in wedded purity, and were a model to all other Christians through their alms and conduct. Then both together felt that their long-cherished desire was ripe. At one stroke they consecrated their immeasurable wealth to the relief of their brethren, while they themselves, free from the trammels of worldly cares, devoted themselves exclusively to the practice of spiritual perfection.

Their biography has been only recently discovered. It is written by a member of their household with unvarnished accuracy and truth. One feels sympathy when reading how deeply Pinianus and Melania realised the extent of the sacrifice they were making. More than once their souls quailed. Every great act of religious renunciation must be accompanied by some pang, which, however, differs according to the character of the individual making it, and these two young people were no more exempt from the common law than other heroic characters of the day. The biographer did well in accentuating this very human side of the two saints' thought and action. We can enter into their feelings when the faithful chronicler describes the young couple in their superb villa overlooking the sea, an ancestral mansion in the grand old style of yore, letting their eyes rove over the lovely gardens, the choice marble statuary and baths, the woods well stocked with game, the lakes and ponds swarming with fish. They remind one another of the sixty farms belonging to the estate, tilled by four hundred industrious and devoted slaves. We seem to hear them tremblingly asking themselves: "Must we give up all this, entirely and absolutely, for the sake of invisible treasures?"[1]

Melania compares the difficult descent into poverty to squeezing through a crack in a wall. As soon as the difficulty is overcome they find themselves, however, in a clearer, wider atmosphere. They feel happy that the sacrifice of their wealth makes the poor rejoice, and, raising their eyes to the Guiding Star of Eternal Good, they take up the cross of self-denial in order to be one with their Cross-bearing Saviour. "By giving up worldly wealth," says Melania, "we obtain immortal treasure

[1] *Vita sanctae Melaniae iunioris auctore coaevo et sanctae familiari*, published for the first time in 1889 in the eighth volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, cap. 18: "*Erat possessio nimis praeclara, habens balneum intra se et natatoriam in ea, ita ut ex uno latere mare, ex alio silvarum nemora haberentur*," &c. An historically important picture of a great Roman country-house at that period.

of a character that eye hath not seen nor ear heard; neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive what God hath prepared for them that love Him. . . . These woods may be cut down, these fertile plains laid waste; we have exchanged them for eternal joy."[1] At first Melania and Pinianus were of a mind to settle in the desert of Tagaste in Northern Africa, but later, about 416 or 417, they crossed over to the holy places at Jerusalem. Thus they too brought an honourable tribute from the Roman world to the chosen city of Palestine, through whose Great Mystery humanity had been redeemed.

40. Pinianus was the son of Valerius Severus, and had a brother also named Severus. The father had been City Prefect in 382, and was highly respected. Thus the ancient and famous **Valerii family** still held its own. Their palace, of which the site can still be traced at Rome upon the Cælian Hill, by its splendour did justice to their renown. It is quite likely that these buildings were inhabited by Pinianus and Melania too. They occupied the flat ground at the eastern side of the circular church of St. Stephen, where the church and Monastery of St. Erasmus have stood since early mediæval days. The commencement of this ecclesiastical foundation was coeval with the decline of the house of the Valerii. It has been quite recently ascertained that this palace was fired and destroyed when Alaric took possession of Rome.[2]

As far back as the years 1554 and 1561 bronze tablets and pedestals of statues belonging to the fourth century, and bearing names of the Valerii, were unearthed on the former site of this mansion. In the seventeenth century a precious early Christian lamp, in the form of a ship, was also discovered there. It is now in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence, and bears on its mast the inscription: "The Lord gives (His) Law to Valerius Severus. Long live Eutropius!" (Ill. 14).[3] Christ is at the helm of the vessel, while at the prow stands a masculine *orans*. The latter

[1] "*Cum in principio abrenuntiationis nostrae anxiaremur, . . . vidimus nos pariter quasi in scissura parietis cum magna anxietate transire volentes*," &c. Thus Melania in c. 16.

[2] Information concerning the destruction of this palace has come to light in the recently published *Vita sanctae Melaniae*: "*Primo enim domum, quam in urbe Roma habebant, venundare volentes; sed quia ad tam* **magnum et mirabile opus** *accedere nemo ausus fuit, relicta est, et postea ab hostium parte dissipata, pro nihilo venundata est quasi incensa.* Cap. 14."

[3] A new photograph. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1867, p. 28; 1868, p. 34; KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst*, I., pp. 98, 487.

Ill. 14.—Bronze Lamp of Valerius Severus.

(DOMINVS LEGEM DAT VALERIO SEVERO EVTROPI VIVAS.)

seems to represent Valerius Severus himself, *i.e.* either the father or the brother of Pinianus. The lamp, intended as a present for Eutropius, is no doubt a religious memento of the donor's baptism, for in baptism the believer accepts the "Law" of Christ to which the inscription makes allusion.[1]

One of the principal hospitals in Rome, not far from this palace, kept the name of Valerii alive as late as the ninth century. It was called the *Xenodochium Valeri* or *a Valeris*, and had probably been founded by this family. The Monastery of St. Erasmus grew up upon the ruins of the mansion about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.[2]

The **Anician family** also lived upon the Cælian Hill. They are represented by a whole series of distinguished names in the Christian annals of that period. The *domus gentis Aniciae* stood on the slope of the hill opposite the Palatine, between the Circus Maximus and the Coliseum, where now stands the church and Monastery of St. Gregory the Great. Several Christian edifices were founded by this noble family. Such was St. Stephen's Basilica, established by Demetrias at her villa on the *Via Latina*. It was excavated in 1857–1859, and the metrical inscription addressed to the foundress recovered.[3]

The **Acilii** rivalled the Anicii both in celebrity and in fervent zeal for the Church. They had first settled in the Pincian Gardens, which subsequently became the property of the Christian Petronius Probus, one of the Anicii. Giovanni Battista de Rossi, the explorer of the Catacombs, discovered the burying-place of the Christian Acilii in the underground cemetery of St. Priscilla. Formerly their splendid marble sarcophagi were arranged in the subterranean family vault and the adjoining galleries. They were grouped round the tomb of the famous Acilius Glabrio, who belonged to this family. Acilius Glabrio himself might well be styled a martyr, for he was a victim of

[1] Respecting archæological discoveries, see DE ROSSI, *Il monastero di S. Erasmo nella casa dei Valerii*, Roma, 1886; as regards the inscription, *Dominus legem dat Valerio Severo*, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1887, p. 26. For illustration and various explanations of the figures on the lamp, cp. GARRUCCI, *Storia dell' arte crist. dei primi otto secoli*, Pl. 469; DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1867, p. 28; 1868, p. 34; KRAUS, *Gesch. der christl. Kunst.* I., pp. 98, 487.

[2] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 456, 482, on the Xenodochium; I, 346, on S. Erasmo.

[3] For the history of the Christian Anicii, see REUMONT, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, I, 812, 813. The ruins of the church in question are still visible opposite the third milestone outside the Porta Latina. The inscription begins: "*Cum mundum linquens Demetrias Amnia virgo.*" Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 239, 531.

Domitian's cruelty. Strange to say, a metrical inscription, of which the fragments were found there, bears the name of Priscilla, which is also the name of the catacomb. It appears to allude to Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus, who was City Prefect and Consul in 438.[1]

Another leading Roman family, the **Uranii**, gained fresh distinction during the fourth century through certain ecclesiastics of eminence who were related to it. Among these was St. Ambrose, whose brother bore the name of Uranius Satyrus. The mausoleum of the Christian Uranii has also been recently identified. It is a handsome rotunda on the Appian Way, near St. Sebastian's church, and, with its Latin and Greek inscription, it is another venerable memorial of the transformation of Rome from a heathen to a Christian city.[2]

41. "Thou dost therefore see," exclaims Prudentius, "how a long line of Senators valued the white robe of baptism above the glory of the toga." "The whole court of Evander," pursues the poet, "betakes itself to the Font of the Nazarene to be born anew. Descendants of the Annii, offspring of the Probi, heirs of the Olybrii, lower their lictor-staves before the graves of the Martyrs. The Paulini, the Bassi, the Gracchi, no longer delay accepting the yoke of their Saviour. Innumerable members of the noblest Roman families have at last turned their backs upon their contemptible idols; yet they are still the boast of the City and its venerable Council. As for the few who still refuse to see the sun at noonday, vouchsafe them not a glance, but only watch how the people, almost without exception, hurry past the despised statue of Jupiter on their way to the Vatican, where the ashes of the City's beloved Father (St. Peter) lie hidden on the slope of the hill. To the Lateran Palaces mayest thou see them hastening to receive with Royal Chrism the sacred sign (of confirmation)."[3]

[1] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1888/89, p. 103 ff.: *Priscilla e gli Acilii Glabrioni.*

[2] DE ROSSI, ibid., 1886, p. 29 ff.: *Il mausoleo degli Uranii cristiani.* The fragment of the colossal inscription, couched in Latin on the one side and in Greek on the other, is now kept at the Monastery of S. Sebastiano.

[3] *Contra Symmachum*, 1, v. 545 ff. "*Aut vaticano tumulum sub monte frequentat,* | *Quo cinis ille latet, genitoris amabilis obses;* | *Coetibus aut magni laterani currit ad aedes,* | *Unde sacrum referat regali chrismate signum.*" PRUDENTIUS, l.c., v. 583 ff. He had already said (v. 566 ff.): "**Sexcentas** *numerare domos de sanguine prisco* | *Nobilium licet ad Christi signacula versas* | *Turpis ab idolii vasto emersisse profundo.*" According to GREGOROVIUS (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 1⁴, 142), Prudentius had greatly deceived himself as to the Christianity of these Romans, in spite of having lived among them so long. In reality, they were not at heart Christians at all. "The corrupt nature of the Romans remained unchanged. Baptism effected no alteration,

The Shady Side of Early Christian Life

42. While Christianity was making such immense progress in the city, while so many leading people, as we have seen, were setting examples of heroic virtue, there were, on the other hand, numbers of unworthy or lukewarm Christians. Such were to be found even in the ranks of the clergy, and history must not pass over in silence this dark side of the picture.

St. Jerome, alas, had painful experience of such clerical brethren in Rome. The zealous asceticism and bold language of this fiery Dalmatian greatly shocked the worldly wisdom of fashionable priests and deacons, of whom the saint has left us a graphic portrait in his writings.

When addressing his maiden disciple, Eustochium, he warns her: "There are brethren of my profession who take priest's or deacon's orders only that they may approach women without restraint. All their care is given to their garments, which must exhale choice perfumes, while their footgear must be supple and well-fitting. Their hair is waved with curling-tongs, and their fingers glitter with rings. Such gentlemen can only mince along the street on tip-toe, lest the filth should soil their dainty shoes. To see them, one would fancy they were bridegrooms, rather than priests. Some of them make it their sole study to find out the names, homes, and mode of life of all the matrons. I shall describe one such worthy, and you will be able to guess what the pupils of such a teacher must be like."

Jerome now portrays an actual clerical character, who must have been perfectly well known at Rome. He describes this man setting forth quite early in the morning to pay court to his various patrons. He has been nicknamed the city-carrier (*veredarius urbis*). He is everywhere on view, with his impudent stare, and mouth ever ready with scandal. He is never tired of buying new horses, each one whiter and more spirited than the

and Christian society continued to share the culture, taste, and requirements of Pagan life. *As a whole, they never grasped the teaching of Christ at any time.*" It is from this point of view that the author approaches his great subject, and he never deviates from it during the whole work. We must not, however, forget that Gregorovius never recognised the Church as a divine institution. To him it is only "one of the many forms of human development" (8^3, 255). "Humanity, sunk in barbarism and ignorance, readily yielded to the priestcraft of the Church, in which it reverenced the only Divine Power it knew on earth" (2^4, 235). If we rightly understand the views of Gregorovius, the Church, according to Christ's intention, should have been "an entirely spiritual Kingdom of Light and Love and Virtue" (4^4, 317).

last. One could fancy him own brother to the King of Thrace. He has two enemies whom he abhors; one is continence and the other fasting. When paying visits he is always clever enough to admire one or other of the ornamental objects decorating the room, and praises it so extravagantly that in the end he is begged to carry it home as a present. People dread offending him, for they fear his sharp tongue.[1]

We could quote many such character-sketches from St. Jerome's pen, which was itself by no means without sting. Unhappily many even among those holding high spiritual office in the capital of the world, were still under the lingering influence of Pagan manners and customs. It was not only in externals that many of the clergy conformed to heathen fashions, some were even open to the vices of Rome. This unworthy life was most observable among those who had adopted the clerical profession with no real vocation, but merely from worldly motives. Upon them the vigilance of their pastors and the severity of well-known ecclesiastical laws made no impression. Even the monks did not always set a very good example, and in monasteries and among ascetics, specimens of repulsive spiritual pride were to be found.[2]

43. Finally, St. Jerome sharply attacks the **higher ranks of the laity,** among whom many had been even less imbued by the spirit of religion. "Why," he asks, "does that grand dame carry out her good works with so much pomp and ceremony? When she wishes to distribute alms at St. Peter's, must she needs be carried there in an open gilded litter? Just look! she always insists on making her presents in person, and has herself borne by her servants hither and thither among the crowd of paupers. Naturally the sight of so much condescension and liberality must impress all Rome, but is a herald necessary when she organises a Christian agape? or why must a procession of eunuchs surround her when she approaches our Holy Mysteries?"[3]

Only a few years previously, the heathen historian Ammianus

[1] *Ep.*, 22, *ad Eustochium, De custodia virginitatis*, No. 28 (*P. L.*, XXII., 414).

[2] For the false monks of that day, see HIERONYMUS, *Ep.*, 125, *ad Rusticum monachum*, c. 16 (*P. L.*, XXII., 1081): "*Vidi ego quosdam, qui postquam renuntiavere saeculo, vestimentis dumtaxat et vocis professione, non rebus, nihil de pristina conversatione mutarunt.*" And the eloquent Father immediately adds one of his trenchant descriptions: "*Sublatis in altum humeris . . . tumentia verba trutinantur, ut si praeconem addideris, putes incedere praefecturam,*" &c. That the Christians were not generally under such evil influences is shown by RAUSCHEN, *Theologische Zeitschr.*, 1902, p. 118.

[3] *Ep.*, 22, No. 32.

Marcellinus had given us such a picture of the state of morality among the lower classes of society as would seem overdrawn did it not come from a heathen living in Rome. The people here described are preponderatingly indeed, but not wholly all, Pagans, but the account is interesting, because it shows what masses Christianity had to deal with and to leaven. It enables us to understand that in spite of the city being nominally Christian, the Church was, and would be for long, obliged to tolerate many impure elements amidst the teeming population.

According to Ammianus the plebeians' one ideal was a life of drinking, dice, circus sports, and vicious haunts. Accustomed to be fed by the State, they would have perished of hunger had there been no public distributions of bread and wine, oil and bacon. Their days were spent in idleness or the lowest vice, and yet all complained of hard work. Only the sight of the chariot-racers or the wrestlers in a circus was capable of putting spirit into this mob. Then they all wake to new life. That this horse or that should win a race, or this or that party's colour prevail, is for them far more important than that our legions should hold in check the invading barbarians. Public sports and amusements had become a perfect craze; according to Ammianus, drama and pantomime had reached such a depth of moral degradation, that our modern ideas refuse to grasp it. "When lately a famine was feared," he says, "all foreigners were ordered out of the City. The Actors also? Not at all. It was necessary to retain the crowd of riotous comedians, and even those who only professed to be actors, in order to prevent a riot among the populace." Three thousand women-dancers, with all their stage-assistants, as well as dancing- and music-masters were all allowed to stay behind in Rome without molestation. "At one time," he laments, "Rome was the stronghold of all Virtue; now its highest prize is given to Vice." [1]

In his description one can, of course, recognise some of the forced indignation of the Stoic, as well as a tendency to exaggeration, but the sad facts adduced must carry weight.[2]

[1] *Histor.*, xiv. c. 5, 6.

[2] Cp. passages in Prudentius upon the luxury at Rome during his day, as well as the vile immorality of theatrical life, and the cruelty of gladiatorial combats. Allard combined everything into one picture in his article, *Rome au 4e siècle d'après les poèmes de Prudence*, *Revue des quest. hist.*, 36 (1884), 5 ff., 14 ff.

44. Such statements must naturally be compared with the accounts given us by other contemporaries regarding the morals of the Roman world in general.

St. Ambrose, a former statesman and experienced man of the world, describes with vivid irony the human specimens he had observed in different cities of Italy. "There they lie, stretched out on carpets, like Orientals, wherever, after wandering from tavern to tavern, they think they have found the right place for a halt. Drink, with the wand of a Circe, has transformed the low plebeian into a rich great man. Digesting the wine he has swallowed, he dreams that he has suddenly won power, freedom, honour, and even royal rank. But after the carouse full of such pleasing delusions, he often finds his way home with a broken pate. Really wealthy men," continues Ambrose, "belonging to good society, lie about among the tables, crowned with flowers, and with their hair all curled and perfumed. Loose women surround them and keep their goblets filled. Later they reel away like ships which have lost their anchor. They seek for fresh orgies to escape the blank monotony of their wasted lives. At early dawn their cooks and caterers must go the round of all the shops, and wherever means for riotous living can be found, they cry and clamour to obtain the rarest viands and the choicest goose-liver."[1]

Let us compare this sarcastic sketch with another of the same writer, describing the officers of the Roman army. Here we see these warriors with silken corselets and golden collars, belts, and scabbards, waiting for their jewelled goblets to be filled by the youthful slaves. Their doughty challenges are not to feats of arms, but to tests of drinking powers. Their war-cry echoes: "A drink!—to the health of the Emperor." Who does not drain his goblet is the Emperor's enemy! "These are the successors of Curius Dentatus!" he cries. "Look at these heroes! What a terror to their foes!" They are picked up and carried out of doors, but even in this condition they can still brag of battles and Victory. What must a servant think when his tipsy master falls into his arms, or when, with difficulty, he lifts the presumptive hero on to his charger. They are soldiers only in the early morning; then, indeed, they breathe forth threatenings and slaughter. By evening they have become a laughing-stock to the

[1] *De ieiunio*, c. 22, No. 42 ff.; c. 12, No. 45; *P.L.*, XIV., 711 ff.

street boys. In the heyday of youth, they are already tremulous old men."[1]

Unconsciously a note of sadness creeps into Ambrose's raillery; a certain dignified regret that such evils should publicly exist; this feeling was shared by all who looked below the surface.

The Empire, also in the flower of its age, might also be likened to a tremulous old man. On all sides hordes of barbarians were pouring across its frontiers, and hammering at its innermost defences; but the Roman State had lost all power of resistance, mainly because society at large was sunk in vice and sensuality.

Long before the sack of Rome by the Visigoths we find St. Jerome, in view of the social state of Rome, giving utterance to the famous words: "We have long been conscious of the wrath of an offended Deity, yet no one thinks of trying to appease Him. It is in consequence of our sins that the barbarians gain the upper hand—on account of our vices that the Roman armies are defeated. What miserable creatures we must be, who so displease God that He must employ these barbarians as His scourge. At one time Rome's legions imposed obedience on the Universe; now our defenders fall before untrained hordes, and fly panic-stricken on catching a glimpse of the enemy."[2]

"Thought shudders," says the same author,[3] "when dwelling on the ruin of our day. For twenty years and more Roman blood has been flowing ceaselessly over the broad countries between Constantinople and the Julian Alps. The Goths, the Quadi, and Sarmatians, the Huns, Vandals, and Marcomanni spread ruin, robbery, and death over the regions of Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, and Dacia. They swoop down with fire and sword over the plains of Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and Pannonia. How many Roman nobles have been their prey! How many matrons and maidens have fallen victims to their lust! Bishops pine in prison, priests and clerics fall by

[1] Ibid., c. 17, No. 62; c. 23, No. 50. Cp. BAUNARD, *Hist. de saint Ambroise*, 3e éd., 1899, p. 356. In FÖRSTER, *Biographie von Ambrosius* (1884), extracts completing the above will be found. Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the Roman heroes described above, says: "*Graviora gladiis pocula, testa enim bibere iam pudebat.*," *Lib.* xxiii. c. 4.

[2] *Ep.*, 60, *ad Heliodorum*, No. 17 (*P. L.*, XXII., 601): "*Olim offensum sentimus, nec placamus Deum. Nostris peccatis barbari fortes facti sunt*," &c.

[3] Ibid., No. 16. The final exclamation, "*Ubique luctus, ubique gemitus* (*pavor*) *et plurima mortis imago*," is from Virgil's *Æneid*, 2, 369.

the sword, churches are plundered, Christ's altars are turned into feeding-troughs, the remains of our martyrs are hurled from their coffins, on all sides sorrow, on all sides sighs, on all sides rises the gaunt figure of death!"

Such were the lamentations voiced by St. Jerome in his Palestinian retreat.

45. In his quiet convent at Bethlehem, St. Jerome could indeed congratulate himself and his friends from Rome on being far removed from the scene of so many horrors. Another author who had mourned over the misery of those days and cried aloud in his anguish like another Jeremiah, remained at home throughout the worst times of barbarian invasion. This was **Salvianus of Massilia** (Marseilles). He writes after the first capture of Rome, at a time when the Visigoths had already overrun his country, when the Vandals were swarming over Spain, and had conquered the Roman possessions in Africa.

The Presbyter Salvianus had been a great traveller, and had thus had the opportunity to study the calamities and the morality of both Africa and Spain as well as of his own country. The pictures which he has given us of the situation throughout the world, in his apologetic work, "On God's Government," are therefore particularly valuable, even though the colouring due to his strong feeling must sometimes be charged with exaggeration.[1]

With fiery eloquence he denounces, as a legacy from Pagan life, the immorality prevalent in so many Roman circles. "Where," he cries, "do we show any signs of reformation? Which province of the Roman Empire has become sober and serious in this our hour of need? I do not speak of avarice and cruelty, which are a part of the Roman character; I will not touch upon gluttony, the common sin of poor and rich, nor on the pride and display which characterise the great ones of this earth. I will also keep silence regarding the prevailing deceit, trickery, and perjury in business, though the Roman State, and its African Provinces above all, are full of it."[2]

When at last he gives full vent to the current of his wrath, it

[1] *De gubernatione Dei*, in eight books, written about the middle of the fifth century (*P. L.*, LIII.). This remarkable, though rather discursive work has recently been twice re-edited, in the *Mon. Germ. hist.* (*Auctores antiquiss.*, t. 1, pars 1) by HALM, 1877, and in the Vienna *Corpus script. eccles.* (t. 8) by PAULY, 1883.

[2] Lib. 7, c. 12, ed. HALM, p. 92: "*Ubi apud nos emendatio, aut quae pars romani orbis, quamvis afflicta, corrigitur?*" Ibid., c. 15, p. 95, after citing all their shortcomings: "*Nulla unquam his malis romana civitas caruit*," &c.

is against the all-pervading immorality which seems fairly inundating the State with vulgarity and vice of the lowest description. Judged by his eyes, flagrant sensuality was at the root of all evil, and had sapped the strength of the whole Roman nation. Northern Africa particularly gave proof of such widespread disorder that the Vandal conquerors formed a favourable contrast to the former Roman rulers.

Salvianus seems to have been brought into very close contact with this depravity in the city of Carthage, and thus, apparently from personal reasons, describes it as a perfect sink of iniquity. "The moral dregs of all other cities are concentrated in Carthage. Filled with treasures, it teems equally with rapine and vice—with reeling drunkards, garlanded profligates, and scented, unctuous voluptuaries."[1]

If therefore this whole Latin world now suffers so grievously through the Germanic invasions, "we must admit," he continues, "that it is on account of our evil ways that God has given us over to the barbarians. It was our vices which provoked the Lord of Heaven to let loose upon us these rough nations from the uttermost parts of the earth; to give up each province, each city, to their scourge, and even to send the barbarians across the seas, so that Africa too should not be exempt from their visitation."[2]

"Where," he exclaims elsewhere in his indignation; "where is any misery like unto ours? Where is any degradation even similar to ours? Yet none the less, in the midst of all this distress, the whole Roman world continues abandoned to sinful pleasure. Romans have become beggars, yet they jest. Tomorrow bitter captivity awaits them, but their only thought is for the Circus. When people are in deadly peril, they do not usually make fun. Yet when fate has brought us face to face with imprisonment and ruin we can enjoy public sports. Death surrounds us and we laugh. One could imagine all Romans had tasted the sardonic laughing-plant. They die still laughing."[3]

Salvianus next compares the rough barbarians with the effeminate Latins, and here too he lays on strong colours. "Among

[1] Ibid., c. 16, p. 96: "*Video enim quasi scaturientem vitiis civitatem*," c. 17, p. 97: "*Quae fuit pars civitatis non plena sordibus, quae intra urbem platea aut semita non lupanar?*" The heathen sin of which St. Paul complains most bitterly in *Romans*, I., 24, so we are told, had become quite the rule in North Africa.

[2] Ibid., c. 5, 12.

[3] "*Quid potest nobis esse vel abiectius vel miserius?*" Lib. 6, c. 18. "*Totus romanus orbis et miser est et luxuriosus. . . . Moritur et ridet*," Lib. 7, c. 1, ed. HALM, pp. 83, 85.

what civilised nations do such atrocious crimes occur as are quite common with us? Could they be committed with impunity among the Vandals? No, they look with loathing on those vices which Romans, calling themselves Christians, still practise in Africa."[1]

"The Goths are faithless," he says, "but they are chaste; the Alans are profligate, but at least they are less deceitful; the Franks are liars, but they practise hospitality; the Saxons are cruel, but they are not given to immorality. All these barbarians have some bad qualities, but they also possess much good in their character."[2] He often reverts in favourable terms to the purity of life among the Goths.[3]

He even mentions districts where the Goths had settled and intermarried with the earlier inhabitants, and a calmer kind of existence had ensued. The degraded Roman cities had often actually taken their cue from the pure lives and strict laws of the barbarians, with great moral improvement.[4]

In fact Salvianus seems to have become strongly convinced that these new nations were destined to import fresh life-giving sap into the fast decaying system of the Old World. His keen intuition told him that from the fusion of their mind and blood with the Latin race, a new order of things would be evolved—a Christian civilisation.

Such an idea might have furnished him with material for wide historical and philosophical disquisitions; he, however, reverts to his lamentation. "Would that my warnings could re-echo throughout the world! Shame on you, ye Romans, for your misdeeds; scarce can you point to any city which is free from moral taint, save such as have fallen into the power of the barbarians. And we, in our social slums, are amazed at our calamities. We wonder that enemies far superior to us in modesty and virtue should also vanquish us in war. We are astonished that our possessions fall into the hands of warriors who are revolted by our vices. Rest assured that it has not been their overwhelming army which made them our victors; nor was it want of defensive

[1] Lib. 7, c. 22. Cp. c. 17.

[2] "*Gothorum gens perfida sed pudica est*," &c., Lib. 7, c. 15, p. 95.

[3] "*Offenduntur barbari impuritatibus nostris. Esse inter Gothos non licet scortatorem gothum; soli inter eos, praeiudicio nationis at nominis, permittuntur impuri esse Romani. Et quae nobis, rogo, spes ante Deum est? Impudicitiam nos diligimus, Gothi execrantur*," Lib. 7, c. 6, p. 88.

[4] Lib. 7, c. 21, 22; c. 23, p. 103: "*castos etiam Romanos esse fecerunt.*"

force or generalship which wrought our defeat. . . . Let us not deceive ourselves; we have been wrecked by the corruption of our lives."[1]

46. With these last words Salvianus decidedly gives us a most important clue to understanding the decay of all Roman society.

It is also well known that at that time many abuses were bringing about the downfall of the State. At the present day various authorities accuse the Christian religion of hastening this decline, because, forsooth, it destroys political spirit, weakens civic ties, and unnerves both the people and the army. Such an opinion is controverted not only by Salvianus but also by some of the best authors of the period, above all by men like St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, who had brilliantly refuted this reproach against the Church.[2]

With unanswerable logic they succeeded in proving, when the

[1] Lib. 7, c. 23: "*Nemo sibi aliud persuadeat, nemo aliud arbitretur; sola nos morum nostrorum vitia vicerunt.*"

[2] Like some other writers, Gaston Boissier, in his important work, *La fin du Paganisme*, 2 (Paris, 1891), p. 221, endeavours to minimise the moral decay which accompanied the last stages of Roman Paganism, and in which the main cause of the decline of the Empire must be sought. We are quite willing to allow (and we have already done so) that many of the general statements made by both Christian and heathen contemporaries are not devoid of rhetorical exaggerations, but the details adduced by the "Moralists," to use Boissier's term (2, p. 219), are certainly positive enough, whilst the favourable traits of public life which Boissier has gleaned from the works of the heathen senator Symmachus are exceedingly trivial. He, however, deals very ably with the objection that Christianity had weakened the military spirit, and had deprived the State of the power of resisting the incursions of the barbarians. Texts in hand, he proves how truly patriotic and helpful to the army was the Church's conduct. Cp., too, A. DE BROGLIE, *L'église et l'empire romain au 4e siècle*, 3, 2, 478. Boissier points out once more that, even before the triumph of Christianity, there existed a fatal lack of energy. "*Il n'est pas possible de dire exactement ce que le christianisme a pu ajouter à un mal, qui était plus ancien que lui et qui provient d'autres causes*" (2, 433). He here justly protests against Gibbon's uncritical standpoint (p. 392) and animus against the Church, which Gregorovius has made his own. Boissier contends that Christianity invariably adapted itself to the existing public institutions of the Empire, and certainly was not responsible for the importation of any elements of disintegration. "*Il n'y eut plus aucun moyen de prétendre, qu'un chrétien ne pouvait être qu'un ennemi de Rome*" (p. 401). No one can blame it for having been impotent to arrest a downfall due to other causes. "*Le christianisme a eu le malheur d'hériter d'une situation fort compromise. Au moment où il prit la direction des affaires, les finances publiques étaient ruinées par deux siècles de désordres. . . . Par une sorte de peste naturelle, les choses sont allées à l'extrême, mais leur religion* [he is speaking of the Christian Emperors] *n'y est pour rien*" (p. 415). "*Ainsi l'empire a péri de maladies, qui remontaient plus haut que le christianisme; on peut donc affirmer, qu'il n'est pas la cause directe de sa ruine. Mais ce qui n'est pas moins sûr, c'est qu'il a été impuissant de l'arrêter. L'a-t-il retardée ou rendue plus rapide, c'est une question qu'on peut débattre*" (p. 443 ff.). The spiteful statements of Duruy (*Histoire des Romains*, particularly those contained in the last volume, which comes down to Theodosius) are sharply criticised by Boissier, although the author is not mentioned by name. Cp. ALLARD, *Un livre sur le 3e siècle* (Boissier) in *Études d'histoire et d'archéologie* (Paris, 1899); SEECK, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, 1 (2nd ed., Berlin, 1897), p. 191 ff., on the decay of military, political, and social life in the Empire.

heathen of those days spitefully brought forward similar accusations, that Christian faith and Christian morality never injured the Empire; that Christianity, on the contrary, in leavening the State tended to regenerate it. They also very justly pointed out that every civic virtue was favoured and fostered by the Church. They further expressly called attention to the practical help which the Church was ever ready to bestow on the commonwealth. It carried its ready devotion so far that in many cities the bishops alone undertook to repair and defend the walls, also taking care of the inhabitants, whilst the Government, from cowardice or incapacity, fled at the approach of the barbarians. The efforts of the Church to uphold the State are nowhere better evinced than in the letters and counsels addressed by her great leader, Ambrose of Milan, to the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius.[1]

Naturally we cannot follow him and other writers into the details of the matter. It must, however, be remembered that the actual work of the Church for the State was being carried on with quiet, noiseless energy, but with incalculable result, in the steady struggle against the stream of moral corruption which fast-vanishing Paganism had let loose. Under this head, the golden fruits obtained by religion both among the Romans and the barbarians are visible to all who choose to look. Salvianus is not silent on this subject, though usually he seems only anxious to depict the corruption of his epoch. Others, however, have described at greater length the encouraging results of Church effort, and we ourselves, in the foregoing pages, have been able to instance many noble examples of the inward transformative power of Christianity among the Roman aristocracy of that day.

The moral contrasts of those times were deep and trenchant. There existed, so to speak, two Romes and two Empires. The excessive corruption of some aroused others to deeds of special heroism. Inordinate luxury in public life woke the spirit of self-sacrifice; the repulsive spectacle of vice induced its opposite of rigid purity, while the unbridled license of mere worldlings invited those who were endowed with deeper feeling to adopt the obedience of the cloister as the best means to salvation. The great revival of life in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel

[1] BAUNARD, *Hist. de S. Ambroise*, chap. VI. Cp. p. 394 ff. and 422 ff. A. DE BROGLIE, *L'église et l'empire romain au 4e siècle*, 3, 2, 1–79; c. 5: *La politique de Saint Ambroise.*

is an outstanding feature of Western life at that period. Celibacy, cloistral seclusion, and a life of prayer and self-sacrifice in voluntary poverty could not fail to claim its devotees in such a state of society. From among the Milanese nobility and from the highest society at Rome, Ambrose of Milan and Jerome the Bethlemite hermit welcomed as many fervent votaries of celibacy and penitence as the celebrated St. Martin in his strict monasteries of Gaul, or the Bishop of Hippo in the communities he had established in Africa.

CHAPTER III

ROME'S REVERSES AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE

Events Heralding the First Taking of Rome

47. At Florence, in the year 405, the valiant General Stilicho had hurled back the hordes of Celts and Germans led by Rhadagaisus. The mere approach of these northern swarms had struck terror into the city of Rome, but on hearing of this victory she abandoned herself to boisterous rejoicings.

The Romans gratefully congratulated the Emperor Honorius, but had no chance of seeing him amongst them. Honorius prudently preferred to express his relief and gratitude for the safety of Italy from behind the marshes and ramparts of Ravenna, where he felt secure. Rome, however, erected a triumphal arch in stone to the honour of this inactive ruler, as well as to the joint-Emperors Arcadius and Theodosius. It was the last monument of victory with which it was given to Rome to adorn herself. We still possess the inscription, written in the bombastic style of the day, on which the Romans announce that the three Emperors have been "victorious throughout the world," that their arms had given glorious proof that the Goths were now doomed to destruction for evermore. The triumphal arch itself has disappeared, and was probably of no great size, being in keeping with Rome's sinking fortunes.[1]

The brave General Stilicho was also voted a monument, which was indeed his due. In the Roman Forum, either beside or upon the ancient rostrum (*in rostris*), a statue in bronze and silver was erected to his memory. The inscription, which, together with the pedestal, has alone been preserved to us, speaks of the great German hero in terms which vividly recall to the reader the period from which they date. He is described here

[1] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1196: "*toto orbe victoribus . . . quod Getarum nationem in omne aevum docuere extingui*," &c. The inscription is only known from the Einsiedeln codex. De Rossi, *Inscr. crist.*, 2, 1, 20. This Arch was perhaps identical with the *arcus pietatis* which used to stand opposite to the entrance to the Pantheon, and is mentioned in the mediæval *Mirabilia urbis Romae.* See Lanciani, *Notizie degli scavi*, 1881, p. 276. De Rossi, l.c.

as "Partner in all the Emperors' Wars and Victories," raised to the highest honour by being related to them through marriage. The Roman people, says the inscription, desires to immortalise his memory "for the exceeding love and care which he has shown to Rome."[1]

But more honours were to be lavished; the victorious army also had its lasting monument. This was only found out in 1880, when a marble base was excavated in the Forum, bearing the inscription: "In memory of the fidelity and bravery of the soldiers of Honorius, Ruler for ever, who has successfully concluded the Gothic War. . . ."[2]

On the occasion of the dedication of these memorials the pleasure-loving city must have had opportunity in plenty for keeping holiday and making sport. *Moritur et ridet.* Their noisy jubilations only too vividly recall the bitter words of Salvianus.[3]

48. Not long afterwards, in the year 408, a rupture between the Senate and Stilicho caused the notorious sudden overthrow of the Empire's saviour. This inaugurated a sad change in the current of Roman affairs. In throwing down Stilicho's statues and deleting his name from all inscriptions in his honour, the Romans were extinguishing their last star of hope. The inscription found in the soil of the Roman Forum with Stilicho's name erased bears eloquent and perpetual witness to that hasty action, pregnant with deplorable results. The omission of the pretended traitor's name marks the beginning of a whole series of tragic disasters for Italy and for Rome. No sooner had Stilicho been beheaded at Ravenna than Rome, in the same year 408, found herself for the first time actually invested by the "for ever annihilated Goths."

[1] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1731. Among other titles, Stilicho is called: "*comes domesticorum et stabuli sacri . . . adfinis divi Theodosii Augusti.*" The pedestal now stands in the Villa Medici.

[2] *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1880, p. 135: "*post confectum gothicum bellum felicitate aeterni principis domni nostri Honorii,*" &c.

[3] A characteristic relic of the last victories gained by the Western Empire over the barbarians was a gaming-table, found in 1891 during excavation of the St. Silvester Basilica, above the Cemetery of Priscilla. It bears the inscription: HOSTES VICTOS —ITALIA GAVDET—(ludit)E ROMANI. It appears to refer to the invasion of Italy during the year 271. In the fourth century this was utilised as a tombstone for a Christian lady named Epiktesis. A similar *tabula lusoria* was found in the Eucharius Cemetery at Treves. The inscription was almost identical: *Virtus imperi—hostes vincti —ludeant romani.* DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1891, p. 35. LANCIANI, *Bull. archeol. com.*, 1892, p. 87.

Alaric, their king, had tried in vain to treat with Honorius. He demanded tribute from the Empire for his people. Haughtily refused, the outraged Goth marched by the Flaminian Way through Italy and on Rome. By laying waste the country and capturing the city, he hoped to put himself in a more favourable position than before, though it was not his intention to interfere with the Emperor's rights. He never dreamt of establishing a lasting kingdom in Italy, nor could he have done so, his wild hordes being still quite unfit to carry on an organised government.

Alaric's advance upon Rome impressed his contemporaries as something fateful and irresistible. Christian and heathen writers record an answer he is supposed to have given to a hermit who adjured him to spare Rome: "A higher power is forcing me on against the city; an inner voice keeps urging, 'Destroy it.'"[1]

49. Yet the taking of Rome was no easy task for these northern warriors, who had no experience of sieges. When the Goths arrived before the city, the walls and turrets seemed to frown down upon them with no loophole for attack. They had, therefore, plenty time to let their horses race over the hilly pastures of the environs and to plunder the luxurious villas and country-seats which dotted the Campagna. Their first step was to deprive Rome of all sources of supply, untold suffering within the city being the result. At this crisis despairing Paganism made one more struggle for life in Rome. Augurs and flamens tried to assemble the people, in order to implore help from their gods; but only very few gave heed to their appeals. In the end the city succeeded in purchasing safety by gold, and here certainly the ancient gods co-operated to some purpose, for many of their statues which had been spared hitherto were now melted down to provide the enormous ransom which was the price of peace. Alaric then retreated to Tuscany.

But the war clouds were not dissipated. The barbarian king declared that he would not withdraw until the Roman Senate had obtained favourable terms for him from the Emperor. Rome itself was to be his advocate at Ravenna. Most of all he sought to obtain Dalmatia, Venetia, and Noricum for his Visigoths, as

[1] SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, VII., c. 10: "Απιθι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόρθησον πόλιν. Cp. SOZOMENUS, *Hist. eccl.*, IX., c. 6. CLAUDIANUS, *De bello pollentino seu getico*, v. 544. These reports at least attest the general feeling.

well as an annual tribute of grain and money. Only a successful general like Alaric, having already pitched his tents in the very heart of Italy, borne forward by the resistless force of his victorious legions, could venture to present such demands.[1]

In order, if possible, to bring about peace, the Roman Pontiff, **Innocent I.** (401–417) joined the embassy which visited the Emperor. On account of his ecclesiastical position, the situation of the city touched him closely. He had been born in its immediate vicinity at Albanum and had grown up among its clergy. The embassy journeyed under the protection of a Gothic escort.

At Ravenna, however, everything was wrecked by the blind opposition of the Court party. They would not meet these barbarian strangers with the slightest concession. The refusal meant a renewal of the war, and the embassy, owing to the immediate outbreak of hostilities, was unable even to return to Rome. Pope Innocent was therefore forced to let the succeeding storms burst over the city without being able to comfort and sustain the sufferers by his presence.

50. Alaric prepared to blockade the city a second time. Yet, before beginning, he once more made representations to the Emperor by a deputation of Italian bishops. He begged him to reflect before abandoning the glorious metropolis of the world to be plundered and fired at the hands of the Goths and their ten thousand Hunnish mercenaries; a city which had ruled the world for more than a thousand years deserved to be preserved to humanity; he himself was even ready to moderate his conditions.[2]

But this appeal, so greatly to Alaric's credit, produced no impression upon the Government at Ravenna; they deemed Rome sufficiently protected by her walls; besides, they were engrossed with other interests, and left the panic-stricken citizens to their fate.

Even the second siege of Rome by the Visigoths did not end in its capture. In vain Alaric's outposts looked up at its massive strongholds. Circling eagerly round them from gate to gate and from tower to tower, his Hunnish cavalry could not espy a single

[1] WIETERSHEIM, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung* (2 ed. by FELIX DAHN), 2, 149.
[2] WIETERSHEIM, ibid. He describes Alaric as "filled with deep respect for Rome and Roman civilisation" (p. 150).

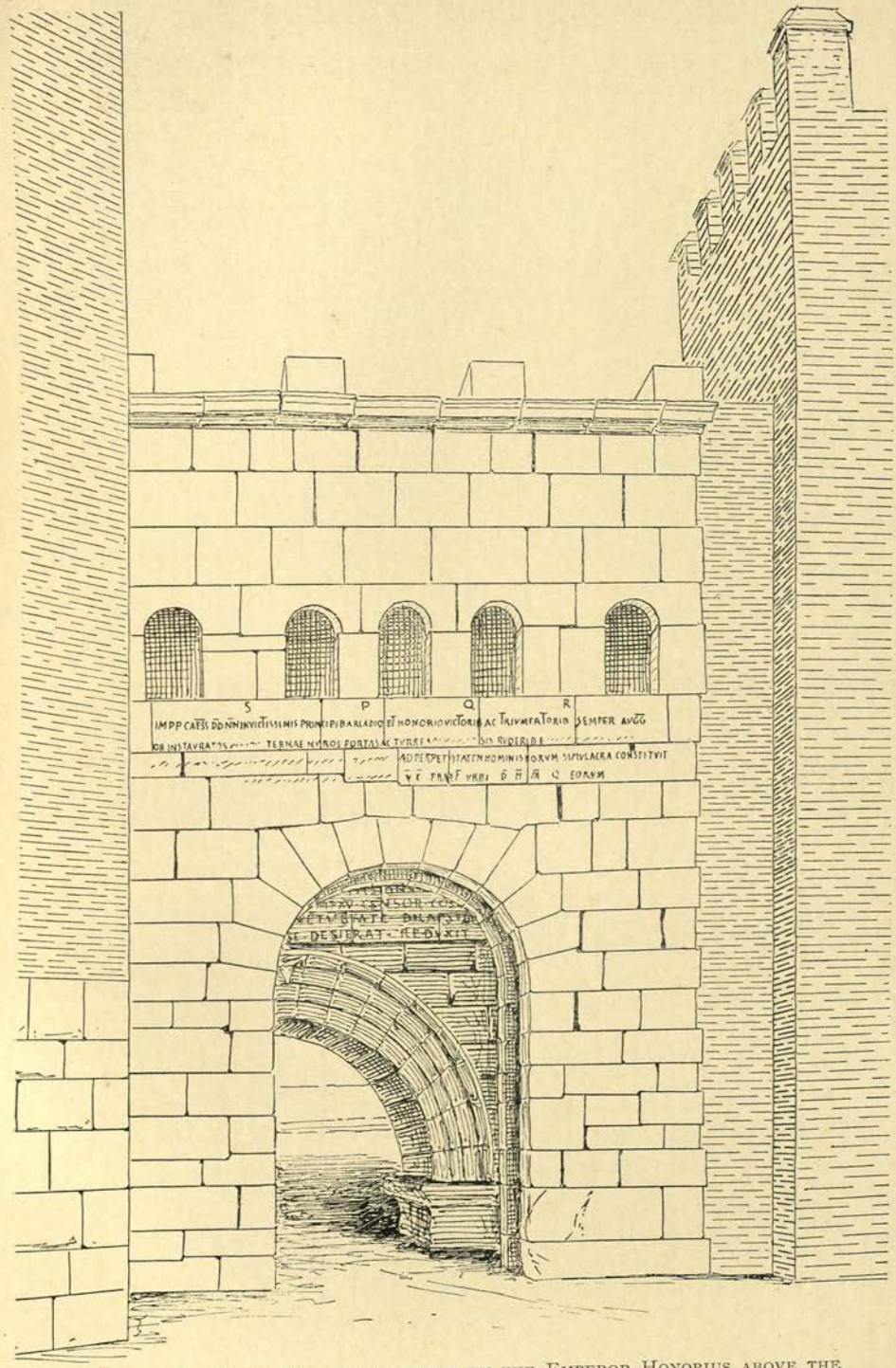
weak spot where they could break in. The Emperor Honorius could at least find good reason to congratulate himself for having, early in his reign, and in view of the coming danger, put the city walls into a good state of repair.

The original inscriptions at two of the city gates are still preserved, and recall the completion of Honorius's restorations. One of these, though indeed somewhat damaged, is still in its original position above the outside of the **Porta Tiburtina.** This gateway is shown in the accompanying sketch (Ill. 15),[1] and gives a clear idea of what these historic Roman structures were like. Alaric's troops could gaze at the statues of the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius standing upon high pedestals and frowning down upon them. They could read in the inscriptions, if they had ever learnt to read, that the Emperors had newly fortified this city, here designated as the "Eternal." If they were further capable of deciphering that this fortification of the *urbs aeterna* had been due to the counsel of the great General Stilicho, as the complete text set forth, they might call to mind, with a proud smile, that even the military genius and the repeated victories of a Stilicho had not succeeded in keeping them, his Germanic brethren, away from the walls of the city of Rome.[2]

51. Alaric, seeing the difficulty which would attend the storming of such a stronghold, once more decided on starving the population into submission. Before this could take effect, the

[1] A drawing of the partially reconstructed view given by the Roman architect, F. Mazzanti. Inside may be seen the curve of the Augustan arch, partially hidden by the Arch of Honorius. The arch carries the aqueduct shown in Ill. 39.

[2] The almost identical inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1188 ff.) are thus expressed: *s. p. q. r. impp. Caess. dd. nn. invictissimis principib. Arcadio et Honorio victorib. ac triumfatorib. semper Augg.* | *ob instauratos* **urbi aeternae** *muros, portas ac turres egestis* (*inmensis*) *ruderib.* (*ex suggestione v. c. et inlustris com. et mag. utriusq. militiae Stilichonis*) *ad perpetuitatem nominis eorum simulacra constituit* | (*curante Fl. Macrobio Longiniano*) *v. c. praef. urbi d. n. m. q. eorum.* The words between brackets are now missing from the *Porta Tiburtina*, probably in consequence of restorations. The inscriptions were inserted on the outer side of the gates. The similar one, from the *Porta Praenestina*, has now been transferred to the right side of the square, outside the Porta Maggiore. The *Porta Portuensis* also, and perhaps the *Porta Ostiensis*, had similar inscriptions. We must observe that the text applies the word *instauratos* to the gates as well; these were therefore not entirely new erections. The *egestis inmensis ruderibus* is one of the exaggerations common in the inscriptions. Lanciani, l.c., p. 111, applies this expression to the removal of the earth which covered the foundations of the walls surrounding the *Castrum Praetorium* and the *Aqua Marcia*. Instead of trying to raise these low walls by adding new material at the top, their elevation, as is still visible, was effected by this much simpler plan. Longinianus, the City Prefect of the year 403, mentioned in the inscription, must be the same who built a baptistery beside the church of St. Anastasia on the Palatine. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christianae urbis Romae*, 2, 1, 150. The statements regarding Longinianus, made by Langen (*Geschichte der römischen Kirche*, 1, 694), are not trustworthy.


S
P
Q
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IMPP CAESS DD NN INVICTISSIMIS PRINCIPIBVS ARCADIO ET HONORIO VICTORIB AC TRIVMFATORIB SEMPER AVGG
AD PERPETVITATEM NOMINIS EORVM SIMVLACRA CONSTITVIT

Ill. 15.—Tiburtine Gate constructed by the Emperor Honorius above the Arch of Augustus. (As seen from without.)

barbarian had, however, discovered a far better method of securing his prey. This he did by stirring up a revolt among the citizens. The ambitious City Prefect **Attalus** aspired to the Imperial crown, and the Senate accordingly made overtures to Alaric; the crown being eventually offered to Attalus by the Senate, but as the gift of Alaric.

Honorius having been formally deposed, the siege of Rome was raised. The Gothic King, in his new capacity of protector of the Romans and Commander-in-chief to his friend Attalus, marched north with the Imperial puppet, and appeared before the ramparts of Ravenna.

Attalus, though nominally a Christian, had favoured the heathen party then in power. He therefore saw fit to conjure up the ghost of Pagan worship, and to replace the Labarum with its Christian symbols by the ancient *Victoria*. This, however, brought no benefit to the usurper, for he was unable to establish his authority. When, therefore, Alaric entered upon fresh negotiations with Honorius, self-interest dictated that this figure-head should be promptly dropped. Nevertheless all efforts for peace were as fruitless as before. When, moreover, Honorius strengthened his forces by the troops of the Gothic chieftain Sarus, Alaric, enraged, marched on Rome for the third time, determined never to rest till he should be master of the city, and able to hurl down the head of the Roman world into the dust, and thus compel the Emperor to come to terms.

Once more terror of a blockade by the barbarians fell upon Rome, unconquered since the days of Brennus. Crowds of fugitives left the city; people hastily concealed such valuables as they hoped to protect from the enemy's rapacity in the event of a sack. The eyes of all who felt themselves Romans, even though living in the Provinces, were fixed in feverish anxiety upon great Rome, the heart and head of the known world.

Alaric in Rome, 410

52. Alaric bore down upon Rome with a huge army of Goths, Huns, Alans, and Skyres. He decided to harass and attack the city from the north-east side. To this end he established his headquarters at Antemnae, on the hill above the Salarian Bridge over the Anio. The mighty towers in the vicinity of the Salarian

Gate (see Ill. 16)[1] tell us even now that far stronger means than an onslaught of his barbarian troops were necessary for carrying such defences. Alaric secretly opened negotiations with the Pagans and Arians, as well as with barbarian slaves in the city. The Goths, being Arians, were welcomed by all citizens opposed to Catholicism, whilst the slaves hoped for freedom. Alaric himself must have been greatly surprised when he at last found himself master of so gigantic a prize. The capitulation of Rome was the result either of treachery or of a stratagem. At any rate, on August 24, 410, the Salarian Gate was opened to the King by the besieged.

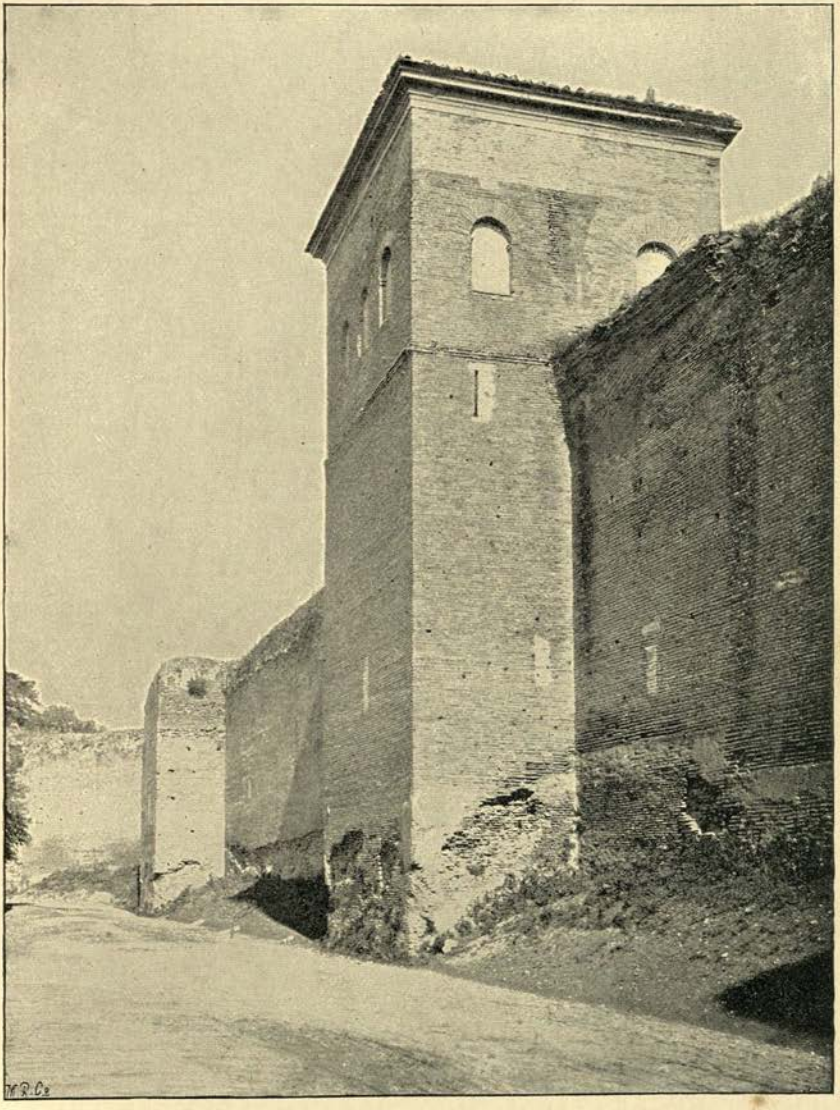
The barbarians flocked in, and the most famous of all cities was abandoned without mercy to the fury of a savage soldiery.

53. Some idea of the extent of this calamity may be gathered from the fact that Alaric permitted his reckless followers to give full rein to their desire for plunder. Only churches, and especially the basilicas of the Princes of the Apostles, were to be spared and retain the right of sanctuary.[2] Three days were given to the troops to clear and pillage all other buildings without reserve. By fixing so short a time, the barbarians were incited to effect all the mischief in their power as quickly as possible. It is useless for those who would fain find excuses for the Goths to try and defend the excesses wreaked upon the doomed city.[3] They scrupled not to set houses on fire or murder their inmates. Though the chief aim of the conquerors was to obtain gold and silver and other treasures, yet flames soon sprang up at various places to complete the work of destruction. Many palaces, full of artistic masterpieces, were reduced to ashes. Procopius, a hundred years later, was shown the half-burnt ruins of Sallustius's

[1] Photograph by Parker (No. 670). The tower which witnessed Alaric's invasion stands between the Salarian and Pincian Gates. The upper portion above the windows is a later restoration. This is one of the few towers of which the ancient windows still rise above the walls of Rome. Within the walls, the former property of the Villa Ludovisi, the arcades have been admirably preserved; cp. Ills. 31 and 34.

[2] OROSIUS, *Hist.*, VII., c. 39, ed. ZANGEMEISTER (*Corpus script. eccles.*, V.), p. 544: "*Adest Alaricus, trepidam Romam obsidet, turbat, inrumpit; dato tamen praecepto prius, ut si qui in sancta loca, praecipueque in sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli basilicas confugissent, hos inprimis inviolatos securosque esse sinerent.*" The *sancta loca* are specified by St. Augustine (*De civitate Dei*, I., c. 34) as *loca martyrum*. Perhaps only those churches connected with early martyrs were granted the right of sanctuary. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 231. SOZOMENUS (*Hist.*, IX., c. 9) mentions only the Basilica of St. Peter.

[3] Even the Goth Jordanis, in the middle of the sixth century, when writing the history of his nation, thought himself under the obligation of attempting the impossible: "*Alarico iubente spoliant tantum, non autem, ut solent gentes, ignem supponunt.*" *Getica*, c. 30, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, V.), p. 98.



Ill. 16.—Tower of the Aurelian Wall not far from the Salarian Gate.

splendid villa, lying in its own grounds near the Salarian Gate. Probably its situation near the point of ingress made it one of the first buildings to be seized by the enemy. On the Cælian, at the opposite side of Rome, fire also raged. We already know that the mansion there, belonging to the Christian Valerii, fell a prey to the flames. Likewise the adjacent circular market-hall, which later, under Pope Simplicius, became the church of St. Stephen, must have been burnt down at this time.[1] This aristocratic quarter of the Cælian, as well as the no less rich and fashionable district on the Aventine, probably excited in a special way the cupidity of the conquerors, and consequently fared worse than the rest of the city. But fire must also have devastated the districts lying on the further side of the Tiber, for as the *Liber pontificalis* mentions the consecration or reconsecration of the Transtiberine church Sta. Maria by Pope Celestine I. (422–432), and hints at some connection with the "Gothic conflagration," we must infer that the flames reached even that portion of the city.[2]

Orosius, writing about that time of this sack of Rome, compares it to the great fire under Nero; but his own words prove that the conflagration was not as destructive as his comparison would lead us to suppose.[3]

In the course of time calamities are always exaggerated. It is not true that all Rome was consumed by fire, but contemporary records certify that many fires took place. Marcellinus, for instance, with every appearance of truth, states simply that "Alaric fell upon the trembling city of Rome and destroyed *part of it* by fire."[4]

The streets were strewn with the bodies of the slain; so numerous were they that burial was out of the question. Very few of the drunken barbarians remembered Alaric's injunction to rob, but not to kill or ill-treat the owners of the mansions. Innumerable prisoners were also taken in the hope that, when the sack was over, they would be redeemed at the price of heavy ransoms.[5]

[1] LANCIANI, *L'itinerario di Einsiedeln*, in the *Monumenti antichi d. r. accad. dei Lincei*, I (1891), 507.

[2] *Liber pontificalis*, I, 230, *Coelestinus* No. 32: "*Hic dedicavit basilicam Iuli, in qua obtulit post ignem geticum patenam argenteam*," &c. A long inventory of the gifts then follows.

[3] OROSIUS, *Hist.*, VII., c. 39.

[4] *Marcellini Chron. ad an.* 410, ed. MOMMSEN (ibid., XI.), p. 70: "*Halaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit*, partemque eius *cremavit incendio*."

[5] Orosius also mentions that all bloodshed had been forbidden. He does his best to minimise the worst horrors, in order to defend the Christian cause against the reproaches of certain heathen contemporaries.

54. This picture of death and desolation was, however, brightened by some touches of human feeling. Respect for the sacredness of religion occasionally checked outbursts of avarice and brutal passion. Alaric's Goths were not utterly devoid of pity, or even of generosity. One band burst into the mansion of St. Marcella on the Aventine, and because, having voluntarily surrendered her property, she had nought to bestow, they so ill-treated her that, after lingering a few days, she died; nevertheless, at her earnest request the barbarians respected the maiden purity of her young companions, even to escorting them to the Basilica of St. Paul. A Catholic matron of great beauty had been seized by an Arian Goth. He struck her till blood came because she would not comply with his infamous demands. At last, in answer to still fiercer threats, she boldly bared her neck to his sword. So touched was the brutal man by her bravery that he himself led his captive into sanctuary at St. Peter's.[1]

A consecrated virgin was mounting guard over the sacred gold and silver plate belonging to St. Peter's Basilica and kept in a house belonging to the church. A Gothic chieftain appeared and ordered her to surrender everything. To conceal the treasure was out of the question, and the Goth stood fairly awestruck before such magnificent vessels, of which he did not even know the use. Their guardian told him, however, that the mighty Apostle would certainly know how to protect his own property, and the man retreated to carry to Alaric the news of his rich find. By Alaric's orders the glittering treasure, with its dauntless warden, was conducted under safe escort to **St. Peter's**. As the procession passed through the streets of the distracted city it was joined by many of the faithful chanting psalms of thanksgiving. It was a scene of divine peace in the midst of a hell, and made so deep an impression upon the barbarians that many of these, too, joined in and swelled the chorus of praise to God and his faithful servant St. Peter.[2]

Other churches, unhappily, were less fortunate than St. Peter's.

[1] For details respecting Marcella and her household, see ST. JEROME, *Ep.*, 127, *ad Principiam.* The letter is a condensed biography of St. Marcella, addressed to Principia, her foster-child. The subsequent scene has been described by SOZOMEN, *Hist.*, IX., c. 10.

[2] OROSIUS, l.c.: "*Virgo Christi ad barbarum ait: Haec Petri apostoli sacra ministeria sunt; praesume si audes, de facto tu videris,*" &c. . . . "*Super capita elata palam aurea atque argentea vasa portantur; exsertis undique ad defensionem gladiis pia pompa munitur. Hymnis Deo Romanis barbarisque concinentibus publice canitur. Personat late in excidio urbis salutis tuba.*"

Many sacred fanes were invaded and plundered. The silver baldachin, or tabernacle, over the high altar was actually stolen from the Lateran Basilica, the leading church of Rome and cathedral of the popes. It had been a gift from the Emperor Constantine the Great, and weighed 2025 lbs. exclusive of the silver figures with which it was adorned. We learn of this loss through the *Liber pontificalis*, which tells us that the Emperor Valentinian, at the request of Pope Xystus III. (432–440), erected a new tabernacle in that church which weighed 2000 lbs. in silver measure.[1]

55. Jerome's great soul was deeply moved, as accounts of these disasters poured in, and he broke forth into bitter lamentation. His outburst enables us to see what the name of Rome then conveyed to the world at large. "The leading light of the Universe has been quenched," he exclaims; "the head of the Roman world has been cut off. It seems to me, that with that one city, the whole Empire has been destroyed." "That city is vanquished, which had subdued all nations to her yoke. She who had gathered together all the treasures of the earth, now lies plundered and in ruins." It puts him in mind of Babylon, and the doom she brought upon herself. The moral depravity of which Rome, as well as Babylon, had been guilty, called for punishment; but now that the blow has fallen, he feels almost overpowered by the terrible degradation of the world-famed city, and the greatness of the catastrophe. "My voice fails me, and even while I dictate, sighs choke my utterance."[2]

He heard of so many friends having suffered death or imprisonment. Among the departed was not only Marcella, but also the charitable Pammachius. The latter died during the privations and distress of the siege. Jerome's sympathy is full of the noblest human feelings. "Who would have believed," he writes, "that the Mother of Nations would become the grave of so many Saints, while all the shores of the East, of Egypt and of Africa are crowded with Roman fugitives, already little better off than slaves, while Bethlehem daily opens its doors to guests

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 233, *Xystus III.*, No. 64: "*fastidium* (*fastigium*) *argenteum, quod a barbaris sublatum fuerat*," &c.

[2] *Prolog. in lib.* I *in Ezechielem. Ep.*, 127. Cp. *Ep.*, 128, *ad Gaudentium*, No. 5: "*Proh nefas, orbis terrarum ruit, in nobis peccata non ruunt. Urbs inclyta et romani imperii caput* uno hausta est incendio. *Nulla est regio, quae non exsules romanos habeat.*" *Ep.*, 130, *ad Demetriadem*, No. 5: "*Vidisti te captivam. . . . Urbs tua, quondam orbis caput, romani populi sepulcrum est.*"

who were once rich and powerful, but have been suddenly driven into beggarly exile."[1]

Augustine was no less overwhelmed by the crushing blow. He, too, felt himself every inch a Roman. Not only were his hopes fixed on a Christian Empire, united under a single Roman sceptre, and destined to lead the whole family of nations to the Church; his mind and heart fully appreciated the grandeur of ancient Rome. He admired the energy and force of its former rulers; the far-sightedness and perseverance with which the Empire had been outwardly extended and inwardly organised by law. He had even declared that in the grand results attained by ancient Rome he recognised God's reward for the self-denial and devotion to public welfare which had actuated her State policy in the past.[2]

56. Though Augustine was so deeply affected by the wreck of the city, he was still more distressed that Pagans should seize this as a pretext for incriminating Christianity. They declared that the irate gods were avenging their neglect, and that the Church was the cause of all the troubles. It was then that Augustine took his pen and, so to speak, with the picture of the queen of the world lying dethroned and dishonoured before him, wrote his great work, *De civitate Dei*, where he answers the reproaches hurled by the heathen against the Church. Written

[1] *Prolog. in lib.* 3 *in Ezechielem.*

[2] *De civ. Dei*, 5, c. 15 (with the title *De mercede temporali, quam Deus reddidit bonis moribus Romanorum*): "*Privatas res suas pro re communi, hoc est republica et pro eius aerario, contempserunt; avaritiae restiterunt; consuluerunt patriae consilio libero, neque delicto secundum suas leges, neque libidini obnoxii. His omnibus artibus, tanquam vera via, nisi sunt ad honores, imperium, gloriam. Honorati sunt in omnibus fere gentibus, imperii sui leges imposuerunt multis gentibus, hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt pene in omnibus gentibus. Non est quod de summi et veri Dei iustitia conquerantur. 'Perceperunt mercedem suam'*" (Matth., vi., 2). Cp. ibid., c. 17: "**Gratissime et humanissime factum est,** *ut omnes ad romanum imperium pertinentes societatem acciperent civitatis. . . . Consideremus, quanta contempserint, quae pertulerint, quas cupiditates subegerint pro humana gloria qui eam tanquam mercedem* **talium virtutum** *accipere meruerunt.*" Gregorovius says, on the contrary (I⁴, 162): "Augustine deemed the Empire of the Romans, its world-power and its laws, its literature and its philosophy, a damnable work of hellish demons. In the fall of Rome he saw only the fall of Babylon, the stronghold of impious heathendom." We have seen that in reality Augustine speaks quite differently. We have also failed to find, in the sources of information to which we have access, any trace of the episcopal complacency in the ruin of Rome, or of any hatred of the Christian priesthood, of which Gregorovius makes so much. On the contrary, we can only read with emotion how St. Augustine bewails the misfortunes of Rome in his sermon, "*De urbis excidio*" (*P. L.*, XL., 715): "*Horrenda nobis nuntiata sunt; strages facta, incendia, rapinae, interfectiones, excruciationes hominum. Verum est, multa audivimus, omnia gemuimus,* **saepe flevimus, vix consolati sumus**" (No. 3). Augustine consoles his audience by the example of righteous Job; "calamities," he says, "are a test of our patience and fortitude, and are often of great use." "*Manu emendantis Dei correpta est potius civitas illa quam perdita*" (n. 8).

at such an important crisis, this work might be compared to a lighthouse, casting its clear glow both before and behind it. In the past, it illuminates the whole course of Paganism, or of the Empire opposed to divine rule. In the future it points out the path to the Kingdom of God, or City of the good, finding its term in the clear Light of Heaven. Heathen Rome and Christian Rome, as two sharply contrasted cities, form the foreground to lofty reflections on the philosophy of history. Augustine sees the sack of Rome in the light of a punishment for her sins, and trial of faith for the righteous. He lays stress on the vanity of her temples and the horrors of her former worship, dwells on the hope of her rising again to be the seat of the Kingdom of God, and on the spiritual wealth and happiness of that Kingdom, which are so great as to make us regard with equanimity every other loss, and even the downfall of the State itself. All these ideas are handled with the lucidity and feeling peculiar to St. Augustine, who is nevertheless at pains to spare the feelings of those of his opponents who hold a different view of the destinies of Rome.[1]

Once only does Augustine use words of anger. This is when he reminds them, how, even in exile, when the fate of Rome was exciting the deepest commiseration throughout the Empire, they had never relinquished their senseless amusements, and specially their passion for the degraded drama. "Future ages," he cries, "will scarcely be able to credit that Roman fugitives in Carthage, exiled and defenceless, could even there daily be seen applauding unseemly and licentious scenes on the stage. Whence this mad eagerness for pastimes at a season so ill-befitting? Forsooth, because you learnt this weakness from your gods, for you are quite convinced that your gods were the founders of such diversions."[2]

The sarcasm of these words is only exceeded by Salvianus's description of Rome as dying with a laugh.

[1] Cp. HERTLING, *Der Untergang der antiken Kultur, Augustin*, 1902, especially the last chapter.

[2] *De civ. Dei*, 1, c. 33: "*O mentes amentes, quis est hic tantus non error sed furor?*" &c. Of the then degradation of the stage, Augustine says: "*ludi scenici, spectacula turpitudinum et licentia vanitatum*" (c. 32). He continues: "*Mala quae facitis, vobis imputari non vultis; mala vero quae patimini, christianis temporibus imputatis.*" They desire, like himself, the welfare of the State, but what State is the object of their desires? "*Neque enim in vestra securitate pacatam rempublicam, sed luxuriam quaeritis impunitam*" (c. 33). And yet these accusers owe their actual safety to the Church: "*Et tamen, quod vivitis, Dei est, . . . qui vobis etiam ingratis praestitit, ut vel sub nomine servorum eius, vel in locis martyrum eius, hostiles manus evaderetis.*"

57. To this day the Roman burial-grounds to a certain extent still reflect the then vicissitudes of the city. As de Rossi points out, the peculiar language of the epigraphs, formerly so accurate and elaborate, died out suddenly in 410. *Not one epitaph* among the multitude known to us belongs to that year, at least none bear that date, and, with few exceptions, epitaphs are silent even during the next succeeding years. Moreover, when the series recommences, the inscriptions progressively diverge from the classical type. With the taking of Rome there set in a certain decline in literary style. The year 410 marks an epoch in the decay of culture and learning, even the gravestones displaying the prevalent lack of inspiration, wealth, and polish.[1]

To this must be added complete alteration in the position and importance of the former Christian cemeteries. With the year of Rome's calamities, the use of underground **catacombs** as burial-places also ends. Whereas until now the faithful had always been buried in the dark galleries of the subterranean cemeteries surrounding Rome, the funerals now usually took place in the churchyards near the churches above the Catacombs, and, shortly after, in the basilicas and intramural churchyards. Only few interments in the Catacombs themselves have been recorded during the years following 410, and at the end of the century they cease entirely. During the sieges it had been practically impossible to bury people outside the city, and the guild of grave-diggers (*fossores*) must then have begun to appear superfluous. Soon after a Church decree seems to have suppressed them altogether.[2]

The Catacombs now became places of prayer. The memory of the dead was there kept alive by their families. The buried martyrs especially became objects of zealous devotion to the Romans and also to pilgrims from afar. Thus these crypts of the martyrs in the Catacombs shared with the basilicas—of which the number and splendour was ever on the increase—and with the tombs of the Princes of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, in developing the religious character of the metropolis.

The fate of these burial-places is, however, only a comparative unimportant and outward sign of the transformation then in progress.

[1] DE ROSSI, *Inscript. christ. urbis Romae*, I, 250 ff.
[2] DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., 215 ff.

58. Rome's whole political life had ceased, so to speak, after that overwhelming blow. The city entered upon a long period of misfortune, and her history becomes a mere record of sieges and sacks, during which she gradually subsided into utter political insignificance. **Ecclesiastical Rome,** on the contrary, grew daily more vigorous among the ruins. Through the Church, the city, even when apparently sinking, gained fresh authority wherever Christianity was professed. Especially to the new races who accepted the faith, Rome, the seat of the Church's chief pastor, with its sacred trophies of the Apostles and tombs of the martyrs, became the centre of their religious, nay, of their national life. She was as a loadstone, attracting with mysterious power the nascent mediæval world, her new sovereignty over the nations being not a whit less universal than before.

"Earthly potentates," says St. Augustine to his heathen contemporaries in Africa, "have been vanquished by the martyrdom of Christians, not by their resistance. Rulers are now fulminating against the worship of those very gods for whose sake they formerly massacred our own Faithful. We may now see the bearer of the highest earthly dignity reverently removing his Imperial diadem before approaching to pray at the grave of the Fisherman."[1]

"The See of Peter in Rome," says one of Augustine's disciples, **Prosper** the chronicler, "crowns the metropolis with pastoral dignity. All that Rome ceased to possess by force of arms she now conquers, subdues, and retains by her Religion."[2]

59. This idea of Prosper's is elaborated by his contemporary, **Leo the Great.** Such words have double weight in the mouth of a man who subsequently struggled through all the terrible ordeals of the city under Attila and under Genseric. On the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29) he thus addresses the Romans: "Through these two saints, O Rome! the Gospel has reached thee, who wast so long a teacher of error. These thy Fathers, thy true Pastors, have laid thy Foundations afresh. They have bequeathed thee a new Creation unto Righteousness better than that of the twin brothers (Romulus and Remus), who erected thine earliest earthly walls. Through them thou art become a

[1] *Ep.*, 232, *ad Madaurenses idololatras*, No. 3: . . . "*imperii nobilissimi eminentissimum culmen ad sepulcrum piscatoris Petri submisso diademate supplicare.*"

[2] "*Sedes Roma Petri, quae pastoralis honoris | Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet armis | Relligione tenet.*" *Carmen De ingratis*, v. 40 ff. (*P. L.*, LI., 97).

chosen, priestly, and royal City. As the See of St. Peter, the true head of the world, and by thy Divine Religion, thou canst conquer vaster regions than thou didst ever win by force of arms. Crowned with constant victory, thou couldst sway thy sceptre over many lands, yet thy conquests obtained at the price of war and conflict are not comparable with those thou hast gained through the peace of the Gospel."

"The Roman Empire," continues the preacher, "had the mission through Divine Providence of bringing nations into touch with one another, and of so uniting them as to facilitate the spread of the Gospel. Ruled by a single City, other countries could more easily possess themselves of all that this one City had learnt, for what nation could remain ignorant of a doctrine which Rome had accepted; whilst what is more fitting than that regeneration should proceed from the head and involve the whole system?"

"The two Apostles were victims to Nero's bloody fury, but the Church never loses by persecution; she only acquires fresh strength, and the more victims are mown down the more fruitful seed is strewn upon the ground. The rich harvest yielded by the sacrifice of these two Apostles in our City is evinced by the thousands of martyrs whose tombs surround it—a whole host of faithful witnesses, whose glory attracts all men and encircles Rome with a crown of radiant jewels." [1]

Death of Honorius. Valentinian III. and Placidia in Rome

60. In 410 Alaric's early death in Southern Italy relieved the Romans from their terror of his name.

His successor Ataulf came to terms with Honorius and led the Visigoths into Gaul. At his departure he was permitted to take with him Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius, whom the Emperor had been forced to bestow upon him in marriage. Ataulf then relinquished the projects he had admittedly long cherished.

[1] *Sermo*, 82, *in natali apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, No. 1 ff.: "... *ut* (*Roma*) *per sacram beati Petri sedem caput orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena.*" The anonymous author of a contemporary work, "*De vocatione gentium*," expresses the same idea concerning the providential purpose of the unity of the Roman Empire, for furthering the rapid expansion of the Church: "*quamvis gratia christiana non contenta sit eosdem limites habere quos Roma, multosque iam populos sceptro crucis Christi illa subdiderit, quos armis suis ista non domuit.*" Lib. 2, c. 16 (*P. L.*, LI., 704).

He had conceived the idea—never dreamt of by Alaric—of founding a permanent Gothic kingdom in Italy on the ruins of the Roman Empire. Instead of attempting this impossibility, he now preferred to lend military aid to the Romans in their wars at the western frontiers.[1] His Visigoths, in conjunction with Roman legions, were to share the laurels of repelling the incursions of Attila on Gaul.

Gradually the population of the city of Rome returned to its normal strength. Most of the fugitives returned and rebuilt their homes among the ruins left by Alaric. Through the assistance and favour of Honorius, the city for a brief period so far recovered itself that contemporaries who desired to flatter the Emperor declared that it was even "more glorious than before."

Among other public buildings, Honorius restored Pompey's Theatre, one of the most imposing edifices in the *Campus Martius*. He thus met the craving for public amusements. It is not so clear whether another public craving—for bread—was satisfied in the same measure. There exists a letter written (*c.* 414) by the City Prefect Albinus to the Emperor, in which he notifies that the usual provision of wheat for the people had become quite inadequate owing to the growth of the population; he therefore proposes that the *annona* be increased.[2]

In the year 417 Honorius himself came to Rome, and met with an enthusiastic reception. Perhaps it was then that, feeling the approach of death, he founded the Imperial mausoleum near St. Peter's. He and his family were to rest on the spot hallowed by the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. This mausoleum took the form of a rather heavy-looking circular chapel surmounted by a cupola. It stood on the left side of the basilica, close behind the spot formerly occupied by the obelisk. It is identical with the building afterwards dedicated to St. Petronilla by Popes Stephen II. and John I. It survived until the erection of the new church of St. Peter.[3]

Having returned to Ravenna, Honorius died while still in his

[1] OROSIUS, *Histor. adversus paganos*, VII., c. 43 (*P. L.*, XXXI., 1171; ed. ZANGEMEISTER, *Corpus scriptorum eccles.*, 5, 560). Ataulf admitted, "*se in primis ardenter inhiasse, . . . ut esset Gothia quod Romania fuisset. . . . Elegisse saltim, ut gloriam sibi de restituendo in integrum augendoque romano nomine Gothorum viribus quaereret.*" Cp. WIETERSHEIM-DAHN, *Gesch. der Völkerwanderung* (1880–1881), 2, 169 f.

[2] On Pompey's Theatre, see the inscription, *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1191. On Albinus, see Olympiodorus in Photius, *Bibliotheca cod.*, 80 (*P. G.*, CIII., 265 ff.; ed. BEKKER and NIEBUHR (*Corpus script. hist. byz.*), p. 458).

[3] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 254, note 16; 265, note 16; 2, 461, note 62.

prime. His death took place in August 423, and the directions he had left for his burial at Rome were carried out. From a political point of view, the reign of this Emperor must be described as a misfortune for the Empire.

61. That a boy scarcely five years old should succeed him gave prospect of fresh trouble for Italy. **Valentinian III.**, son of Constantius, Placidia's second husband, showed himself from first to last both feeble and changeable. In judgment and in strength he was lamentably unequal to the burden of difficulties which are a ruler's lot, especially in times such as his.

As Augusta, Placidia assumed the guardianship of her little son and brought him to Rome, in order that he might be invested with the purple at the venerable seat of the Cæsars; for Rome still anointed the Emperor. The officiating bishop was, however, Helion, a Byzantine delegated by Theodosius II., Emperor of the East. Theodosius wished the dual Empire to be maintained, contenting himself with the Greek throne. The pageant passed off without the result hoped for by the Romans. Their wish was that the city should again become the residence of the ruler. Instead of staying at Rome, Placidia and Valentinian, however, preferred the greater security of Ravenna, with which city Placidia was, moreover, better acquainted.

62. A few years later a new power made its appearance in the South, a power at whose hands Rome was to suffer indignities even greater than those she had experienced under Alaric.

In 429 the Vandals under Genseric crossed from Spain into Africa and there appropriated the Roman provinces, the Imperial troops being powerless to stem the savage hordes.

During the year 430 the conquerors besieged Hippo, where St. Augustine spent his last days in rousing and comforting the citizens. Nine years later they were able to occupy Carthage, the capital. Proud of his powerful fleets, Genseric dubbed himself "Lord of Land and Sea."

At first he took no steps against Rome. He preferred to wait till her power had been again broken by that dreaded Hun Attila. Such was the state of Italy that it was a ready prey to the first barbarian chieftain who chose to attempt its conquest. Nor was it devoid of attractions. The actual as well as the fabled wealth of Rome exercised an irresistible fascination over these booty-seeking nomadic races.

Rome's State of Terror under Attila and Genseric

63. **Attila**, the Scourge of God, had hurled his hordes of Huns against the West, and, allied with the Ostrogoths under Valamir and the Gepidæ under Ardaric, had penetrated into the heart of Gaul.

In the summer of 451 a battle on the Catalaunian plains put a stop to their devastating progress, and forced the wild warriors to retreat. The military genius of the Roman general Aetius, backed by the valour of his allied Visigoths under Theodoric, were victorious. After wintering in Pannonia, where he re-organised his shattered forces, the dreaded King of the Huns reappeared in Italy during the spring (452), hoping to compensate himself there for his recently sustained defeat. Aquileia had to bear the brunt of his first onslaught. The fate of this and other cities in Venetia and Æmilia showed the inhabitants of the country what they might expect should he descend victorious into the Peninsula.

The Roman Government was in despair, for Aetius, having neglected to defend the Alpine passes, had no longer any means of offering effectual resistance to the enemy.

The road to Rome lay open before Attila. Memories of Alaric and his Goths loomed grimly before the minds of the citizens. They again hastened to hide all their valuables and to seek safety in flight.

Even the stronghold Ravenna was threatened, and at one time Aetius actually thought of escaping thence to the East with the young Emperor Valentinian. On account of the flagrant cowardice it involved, this plan was, however, abandoned.[1]

The final salvation of Italy is one of the most solemn and most celebrated events in history, and is inseparably linked with the name of the great Pope **Leo I.**

64. All that reliable chroniclers tell us is summed up in the following. The best authority is the Aquitanian Prosper, who inserted his sober statement in his Chronicle at Rome itself, and during the lifetime of Leo the Great.[2]

After prolonged discussion, it seemed best to "the Emperor,

[1] "*Attila redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit. . . . (Aetius) hoc solum spebus suis superesse existimans, si ab omni Italia cum imperatore discederet.*" Prosper. Aquitanus (Tiro), *Chronicon*, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, IX.), p. 482.

[2] Ed. MOMMSEN, l.c. Cp. VICTOR TONNENENSIS, who continued Prosper's work, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, XI.), p. 185. JORDANIS, *Getica*, ed. MOMMSEN (ibid., V., 1), p. 115. Cp. present work, vol. ii., No. 238.

the Senate, and the Roman people" to send a deputation to Attila to sue for peace. Relying upon God's help, Pope Leo I. accepted this difficult mission, and started in company with the Consular, Gennadius Avienus, the ex-Prætorian Prefect, Trigetius, and others. They doubtless possessed full powers for making concessions, since it would be futile to rely upon mere entreaties. Leo I. was both leader and spokesman, his high character and position fitting him for the task. Of his ability he had already given proof in previous difficult negotiations. His position as Bishop of Rome was, moreover, one of great influence. When the Emperor Marcian, who succeeded Theodosius II., had invited Pope Leo to come to the East in order to hold a General Council against the Monophysites, Leo had refused to quit the city of Rome, alleging that in his judgment Attila's campaign against Gaul presaged danger, and that it was the Pope's duty to remain at his post.[1] Now, however, he willingly left Rome in order to face Attila.

The Hun, who was the terror of the world, received the embassy at his camp near Mantua, where the Mincio falls into the Po. "All fell out," says Prosper, "as Leo had expected in his reliance upon the Divine aid, which never forsakes the pious in their boldest enterprises." This conference with the Pope moved the dreaded foe to compassion. He expressed his pleasure at receiving a visit from the Supreme Pontiff, and, after hearing the envoys, he ordered hostilities to cease and promised to make peace with the Empire. After this he withdrew with his forces beyond the Danube. Judging by an excerpt of Priscus the Thracian, preserved by Jordanis, it seems clear that Attila's followers stood in some sort of vague terror of Rome. Alaric's sudden death made many fear that a like fate might befall Attila should he dare to lay hands on the venerable city. According to Hydatius, the Huns, ever since their coming into Italy, had been severely "afflicted by God with famine, sickness, and other heaven-sent plagues."[2]

[1] The Emperor's invitation runs: *ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ μέρη παραγενέσθαι καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἐπιτελέσαι. Inter epp. Leonis M.*, ed. BALLERINI, *Ep.*, 76, p. 1026 (*P. L.*, LIV., 904). For the Pope's replies, see *Epp.*, 83 ff.

[2] JORDANIS, *Getica*, c. 42, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 114. HYDATIUS, *Chronicon*, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, XI.), p. 26: "*Huni . . . divinitus partim, fame partim morbo quodam plagis caelestibus feriuntur.*" Wietersheim (2, 264 ff.) brings forward several reasons to explain that Attila himself considered his cause doubtful, and felt afraid of continuing the war, but his editor, Dahn, justly remarks in a footnote: "Mere conjectures without foundation."

If, as is possible, Leo the Great threatened the barbarian King with something of this sort, and with courage and dignity ordered the superstitious monarch to spare the hallowed walls of Rome, broadly hinting at the power of the great Prince of the Apostles, whose tomb they protected, this would have been in perfect keeping both with his character as a patriot and Christian and with the situation and requirements of the moment. At any rate, he returned to his flock with the glad tidings that his mission had been a brilliant success. The next matter was to discuss the terms of peace.[1]

Throughout these negotiations two other personages seem to have been particularly active. They are mentioned in Cassiodorus's collection of letters. One was Cassiodorus's own father, and the other Carpilio, son of Aetius. In detail, however, the progress of events is not clear. Hydatius speaks of military actions undertaken by Marcian, Emperor of the East, against Attila's army both before and after the latter's actual withdrawal, but such statements seem contradicted by the reports of Priscus and Jordanis.[2]

It is, however, quite certain that in 453, immediately after the retreat had been effected, the whole world was relieved and gladdened by news of Attila's sudden death. So long as he lived his terrible spirit of enterprise kept alive the fear of a sudden renewal of his plans against the Roman Empire. The Romans now reaped the advantages of the Battle of Nations on the Catalaunian Plains, and of the concessions from Attila secured by their bishop.

These three events, the battle of Châlons, Leo's peace-mission, and Attila's sudden death, united to save European civilisation from an overwhelming catastrophe. Had Attila and his Huns succeeded in overrunning the West, all nations would have been plunged into savagery. One shrinks from dwelling upon the fate of Christianity at the hands of such conquerors. Italy and Rome especially could well thank God for their deliverance.

65. Just as the death of Galla Placidia on November 27, 450, gave Attila the signal for his warlike preparations against the Empire of the West, so the death of her son Valentinian III.

[1] We must notice that Prosper writes: "*Ita summi sacerdotis praesentia rex gavisus est, ut et bello abstineri praeciperet et ultra Danubium* promissa pace *discederet.*" The formal treaty of peace, therefore, still remained to be concluded.

[2] CASSIODOR., *Variarum*, I, No. 4 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 510). HYDATIUS, l.c. PRISCUS, *Fragmenta*, No. 9, ed. NIEBUHR (*Corpus script. hist. byz.*), p. 153. JORDANIS, c. 43, p. 115. Cp. WIETERSHEIM-DAHN, 2, 265.

brought the plans of the Vandal King Genseric to a head. Valentinian was murdered in Rome on March 16, 455, when only thirty-five years of age, while watching the chariot-races on the *Via Labicana* near Helena's Mausoleum.[1]

By the aid of his influence and wealth **Petronius Maximus,** who had already been Consul twice, seized upon the Imperial crown, and even forced Eudoxia, Valentinian's unhappy widow, to marry him in the first freshness of her grief. But his ambition rested on no firm basis. No sooner did he learn that Genseric had arrived at Portus with an immense fleet and auxiliaries recruited from the African plains, and was preparing for an attack on Rome, than he deemed it advisable to seek safety in flight. He joined the thousands of fugitives, high and low, rich and poor, who were flocking out of the city, but was murdered and torn to pieces by his own servants. As his corpse, which had been flung into the Tiber, drifted against the vessels of the Vandals now mounting the stream, the enemy could well congratulate themselves, for they were henceforth undisputed masters of the undefended city.

66. Rome was indeed without the slightest protection against the Vandals. Only her bishop, Leo, remembered his duty, as well as the moral force which he possessed. Having been successful with Attila, Leo was willing at least to make a similar attempt on **Genseric.**

Accompanied by his clergy, he boldly advanced to meet the King outside the Porta Portuensis. The Pope could not indeed hope to arrest the victor, now that his booty was already in his grasp, but by dint of urgent entreaty he did succeed in wringing a promise from Genseric that no blood should be shed, and that the city should not be set on fire. Further, that no one should be induced by torture to give up gold and jewels.[2]

67. The sack lasted a fortnight, and was rendered worse by the deliberation and ruthless precision with which it was carried out.[3]

[1] PROSPER. AQUITAN., *Chronicon,* ed. MOMMSEN, p. 484: "*Egressum extra urbem principem et ludo gestationis intentum inopinatis ictibus confoderunt.*"—*Additamenta ad Prosperum Havniensia,* ed. MOMMSEN, p. 303: "*in campo Martio pro tribunali in sexto ad duos lauros residentem.*" At the point called "*ad duos lauros*" Helena's Mausoleum, now called Torre Pignattara, stood, inside the grounds of one of the Imperial villas.

[2] PROSP., *Chron.,* ed. MOMMSEN, ibid.: "*ut ab igni tamen et caede atque suppliciis abstineretur.*" VICTOR TONNENENSIS, ed. MOMMSEN, p. 186.

[3] Procopius tells us that the barbarians went about their work, "*Secura et liberâ scrutatione*"; the *Chronica gallica* adds: "*sine ferro et igne*" (Ibid., p. 484.)

Ill. 17.—Triumphal Arch of Titus with the Vessels from the Jewish Temple.

All the valuables still preserved in the mansions, private houses, churches, or deserted temples, had to be helplessly handed over to the plunderers. The Imperial residence on the Palatine was rifled even down to the copper cooking-utensils. Statues of precious metal, standing in the squares or public buildings, which the Goths in their haste had overlooked, or which had been subsequently replaced, fell wholesale into the hands of the Vandal crew. Genseric kept a keen eye upon all artistic treasures, for the barbarian cherished visions of a civilised state in his African dominions, and was desirous of decking Carthage with the masterpieces of foreign genius. Aided by the Moors, his warriors dragged the booty to the numerous vessels which thronged the Tiber, and which later on were to sail down the river to Portus, and thence across the sea to Africa.

They even mounted the roof of the magnificent Temple of Jove on the Capitol, and carried off half of the bronze-gilt tiles. These were no doubt intended for the new edifices of the Vandal capital, and may well have been used ultimately for the royal palace Genseric was building there for himself.[1]

Since the time of Titus many of the gold and jewelled vessels from the Temple of Jerusalem had been preserved in Rome. To this day the Triumphal Arch of that Emperor with its famous bas-relief (Ill. 17)[2] stands to remind us of the victor's progress to the Capitol with his prize. Perhaps the vessels were still preserved in the Temple of Peace, where they had first been placed. They too went to swell the Vandals' prey.[3]

[1] PROCOPIUS, l.c., 1, c. 5, ed. DINDORF (*Corpus script. hist. byzant.*), p. 332 (on the Temple of Jupiter). See Illus. 23, p. 130.

[2] Photograph by Anderson of Rome. Besides the seven-branched candlestick, the table for the shewbread, and also the trumpets, are recognisable. Passing through the archway on the road from the Coliseum to the Forum, the scene will be perceived to the left.

[3] PROCOPIUS, l.c., 2, c. 9, p. 446 (On the Jewish sacred vessels): τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια, ἅπερ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Τίτος μετὰ τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἅλωσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἤνεγκε. Cp. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia, ad an.* 447, ed. BEKKER (*Corpus script. hist. byzant.*), p. 37, 40. Vespasian had placed the sacred vessels, brought away from Jerusalem, in the *templum pacis* at Rome, which he completed in 75. The seven-branched candlestick is particularly mentioned. On the other hand, the veil of the Temple and the sacred books were hidden on the Palatine (Flavius Josephus, *De bello iudaico*, 7, c. 5, No. 7). During the sixth century many other objects preserved at Rome were commonly taken for spoils from Jerusalem. Thus, in the history ascribed to Bishop Zacharias of Mitylene in Lesbos, and dating from this time, there is comprised a revised and enlarged Syriac translation of the so-called *Breviarium* (a description of Rome). Here we find it stated that at Rome were preserved "five and twenty brazen statues of Abraham's family, of Sara and of Agar, which Vespasian had brought there after the destruction of Jerusalem,

The gilt tiles and the golden vessels of the Temple were united in one common doom—relics of the two greatest monuments of Roman Paganism and of Judaism. *Iupiter Capitolinus*, in his day, had proclaimed his victory in the sacred precincts of Judaism, and the Arch of Titus, dominating the *Via Sacra* and the Roman Forum, with its reproduction of the seven-branched candlestick and the Jewish vessels of sacrifice, still remains as a striking memorial of the overthrow of Jerusalem. Now the hour had struck for the humiliation of Roman Paganism in its *aedes Iovis Capitolini*. Nothing to remind us of its ancient splendour now remains in the Eternal City, save a few marble fragments of the building, and its hidden foundations. The roof once removed from the Temple of Jove, the building began little by little to fall to pieces and soon vanished completely from history, ancient writers not even deeming it worth their while to mention it. But the spiritual adversaries, who were really responsible for the downfall of Paganism and of its god of thunder, have not, and never will, thus vanish. The religion preached by Christ was destined to survive the successive sacks of Rome, as well as all the other vicissitudes of history.

The churches in the city had fallen on an evil day. Generally speaking, they fared much the same as during the sack under Alaric. Only the basilicas dedicated to the Princes of the Apostles seem to have been spared, as they had been during the Gothic onslaught.

as well as the Gates of Jerusalem and other metal objects. See translation of the Syriac *Breviarium* from the *Cod. Vat. syr.*, No. 145, by IGN. GUIDI, in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 11 (1885), 218 ff. The Temple of Peace, alluded to as having received the plunder from Jerusalem, might almost be called a museum. Cp. NIBBY, *Roma antica*, 2, 689 ff. After the fire in the year 191 this Temple was restored by Septimius Severus. At the time of Procopius, however, it was in a very dilapidated state, for it had been struck by lightning and never repaired. When Alaric, and subsequently Genseric, had carried off the Jewish vessels, and doubtless all other valuables as well, no further reason remained for preserving the building. The history of the sacred vessels of the Temple, and specially of the seven-branched candlestick, after they had been shipped to Africa, is very obscure. According to Procopius, *De bello Vandal.*, 2, c. 9, Belisarius, after conquering Carthage, brought all that he could find to Constantinople, and the Emperor Justinian, at the request of the Jews there, sent these relics to Jerusalem, where they were placed in one of the local Christian churches. They may have been part of the booty of the conquerors when the Arabs took Jerusalem. In mediæval times the Lateran Basilica professed to be still in possession of the seven-branched candlestick, of the Ark of the Covenant and other noted Jewish relics, which it was supposed to have received from the Emperor Constantine. We find this in the *Mirabilia* (ed. PARTHEY, 1869), p. 31, and in JOHANNES DIAC., *De lateran. basil.*, c. 2 ff. (MABILLON, *Museum ital.*, 2), p. 563 ff. It is almost superfluous to add that the authentic list of the Emperor Constantine's donations to the church of the Lateran, contained in the *Liber pontificalis*, makes no allusion to these.

It is, however, likely that the Lateran Basilica, the chief church of the Roman Pontiff, also escaped the hardship of pillage. All three churches continued to possess vast quantities of gold and silver plate, even when the days of terror were over. When the storm had passed, Leo I. collected the huge silver ewers which till then had been in use at St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and the Lateran, and, by melting them down, was able to provide smaller vessels for the other Roman churches to replace the plate of which they had been robbed. Six such ewers, so-called *metretae* or *hydriae*, were brought from the Lateran, two each from either of the other basilicas. On this occasion, we are told that these vessels had formed part of the gifts bestowed upon these basilicas by Constantine, and that those from the two churches of the Apostles each weighed 100 silver pounds.[1] In St. Peter's a large golden ornamental structure which Valentinian III. had erected over the *Confessio* of the Apostle, also survived the storm. It consisted of a bejewelled arcade in which were set images of Christ and of the twelve Apostles.[2]

68. Rome's disasters seem to have terminated with the feast of St. Peter, June 29, for the more correct chronology places the murder of Maximus on June 12, 455, whilst Genseric entered Rome three days later, immediately giving orders for its sack. Admitting that this lasted fourteen days, it must have ceased on June 29. Perhaps it was owing to the approach of the Feast of St. Peter that Leo the Great was able to obtain from the conqueror a time limit to the plunder. In a later sermon the Pope said to the people: "The protection of the Apostles Peter and Paul delivered your City" from the bondage into which she had fallen.[3]

The word "bondage," or, as Prosper puts it, "bondage worthy of many tears," reminds us of the fact that "many thousands of the citizens" were dragged away into captivity by the barbarians when they left. The noblest victim was the

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 239, *Leo I.*, No. 66: "*quas Constantinus Augustus obtulit, qui pens. sing. lib. centenas.*" Ibid., DUCHESNE, note 5.

[2] Ibid., I, 235, *Xystus III.*, No. 64. DUCHESNE, note 8. Pope Adrian I. mentions this ornament as still existing when he was writing to Charlemagne. MANSI, 13, 801. That some incendiarism accompanied the sack of Rome would seem to follow from a fragment which tells of the destruction by fire of a church of St. Hippolytus Martyr, situated in the delta of the Tiber: "*Vandalica rabies hanc ussit martyris aulam, quam Petrus antistes cultu meliore novatam.*" Cp. CANTARELLI, *Di un frammento*, &c., *Bullett. arch. comm.*, 1896, Nos. 67, 76.

[3] *Sermo*, 84, No. 1, ed. BALLERINI, p. 335; *P. L.*, LIV., 433.

Empress Eudoxia, who had been seized in the Palatine Palace with her daughters Eudocia and Placidia.[1]

Under the eyes of the trembling Romans the Vandal fleet, bearing the vast crowd of captives and the rich booty, set sail for Africa. At Carthage, Eudocia was forced to wed Hunneric, the cruel son of Genseric, and the last three descendants of Theodosius the Great had long to wait for the day of their release. The Roman spoils became the property of the Vandal capital; at least they remained in Carthage, until it in turn fell into Byzantine hands, when they were again mostly carried away to the East. The remainder ultimately fell to the Arabs. Of the Vandal fleet, one ship laden with statuary sank in the Mediterranean when on its way to Carthage.

69. In memory of these unhappy weeks of pillage, and because the city had at least not suffered from fire and sword, the Church of Rome for some years kept a **day of penance and thanksgiving** within the Octave of St. Peter. Yet the terrible experience was far too promptly forgotten by the main body of the population. It is very characteristic of the superficiality of human emotion, and of Roman mentality in particular, that in the sermon just quoted, where Pope Leo speaks of the capture of Rome, he had already cause to complain of his hearers' neglect of the memorial festival. "How few of you," he says, "came a few days ago to that service which once brought together all the Roman Faithful. Your unconcern is a source of grief to me, nay, even of alarm. Is not this forgetfulness a proof that you have not been healed by God's stripes? Or do you not feel bound to return thanks that your well-deserved punishment was so greatly tempered by mercy? I am ashamed to speak of it, but I may not keep silence. The spirit of the world and the devil are served with more zeal than the Holy Apostles; senseless theatricals attract bigger crowds than the burial-places of our Martyrs. Was it, then, Circus sports which saved you from falling by the sword, or was it not rather the intercession of the Saints? Though we richly deserved God's wrath, we have been spared, but only that we might enter into ourselves and seek forgiveness."[2]

[1] PROSPER, l.c.

[2] *Sermo*, 84: *In octavis Petri et Pauli.* Everything points to this sermon having been preached shortly after the *dies castigationis et liberationis nostrae*, and confirms Ballerini and Quesnel's views that the festival was instituted in connection with the retreat of the Vandals, and not with that of Attila. According to the context, it does

The Phantom Emperors, 455–476

70. Now ensued two decades destitute of either glory or peace for the city, during which eight Emperors took their turn in rapid succession. It was the last epoch of the Empire of the West, whose course, guided by irresistible fate, was fast running to its doom. The Germanic race, devoid as it still was of either method or an ordered state, triumphed on the ruins of the Roman world-power, and gradually appropriated the heritage of her civilisation.

After the death of Petronius Maximus, the first Emperor to don the purple was a Gaul of Latin descent named Flavius Mæcilius **Avitus**, from Avernæ (Clermont). He was a well-meaning, and also a well-educated man, but he was soon glad to exchange the dignity of Roman Emperor for that of Bishop of Placentia.

In conjunction with Ricimer, who had since won fame as a general, and who was related to the reigning family among the Spanish Suevians, the Senate, in 457, raised Julius Valerius **Majorianus** to the throne. In spite of the promise offered by his wise and firm rule—Procopius even praised him later as the best of all the Roman Emperors who ever reigned [1]—he was soon overthrown by the caprice and ambition of the all-powerful Suevian to whom he owed his elevation.

Ricimer, the commander of the mercenaries, having now attained the title of Roman Patricius, made Emperors at his will. In 461 he honoured Libius **Severus**, from Lucania, with the crown, but dethroned him after four years, and then governed the Empire himself.

At this juncture, by request of the Roman Senators, the Byzantine Emperor Leo interfered. Leo was well aware, and wished it to be distinctly understood, that the throne of the Western Roman Empire was by right subordinate to his government of New Rome or Constantinople. It should be made

not follow that the circus games fell on the same day as the festival. The *ludi apollinares* used formerly to begin during the Octave of St. Peter. These lasted from the 6th to the 13th of July. They were generally combined with *ludi scenici*, but concluded on the last day with a *venatio* in the circus. If, under Leo, they were still kept up, it is possible that the absence of the people from the churches, to which the Pope alludes, may have been due to these *ludi apollinares*.

[1] PROCOPIUS, *De bello vandalico*, I, c. 7.

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manifest that he, in his own person, represented the Unity of the two halves of the great Roman Empire. He sent **Anthemius,** a Greek, husband of his predecessor Marcian's daughter, to the Latins as their Emperor. Ricimer received him quite graciously, and had good reason for so doing. He, the barbarian, was honoured by an alliance with a daughter of Anthemius. Servile Rome celebrated with boisterous rejoicings the two events, the advent of the new Greek ruler and the German wedding. She laughed, and was satisfied.

71. But the joy of the Romans was only too soon turned into mourning, for Anthemius, through an unsuccessful and expensive expedition against the Vandals, forfeited popular confidence, and what was worse, also lost Ricimer's favour through adopting an attitude of too great independence. In 472 Ricimer promoted the Roman Flavius Anicius **Olybrius** to the Imperial throne of the West. Anthemius, seeking to maintain his position in Rome by the help of Bilimer, the Goth, the luckless city was blockaded and stormed by Ricimer. As if the inhabitants had not already been tried enough, they were now to undergo new afflictions. Ricimer's strongest allies against the besieged city were pestilence and famine. The Germans, encamped outside the gates, at last, with many a feat of arms, carried the Transtiberine side of the city. On July 11, 472, the vengeful Ricimer penetrated into the city proper, and abandoned it to his soldiery to pillage as they chose. For the third time within sixty-two years the metropolis of the world was sacked by German hordes.

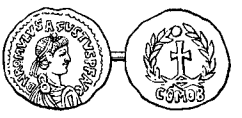
The unbridled rapacity of these greedy swarms once more made havoc among Rome's inexhaustible treasures, though very few details exist among the scarce chronicles of the time. History has already cast a shroud over Rome in her decay.

Olybrius, Ricimer's feeble puppet, was thus installed Emperor by main force. That same year, however, he died of the plague, which had already carried off the mighty Ricimer himself. In spite of his military fame, Ricimer left but an evil memory. His treachery towards his father-in-law, Anthemius, was avenged upon himself and upon the State. Besides this, the fact of his being an Arian made him disliked by the Romans.

72. The last ephemeral Emperors of the shattered Western Empire now follow with tragic rapidity. **Glycerius** was instated by the Burgundian Gundebald, Germans now bestowing the

purple as the Prætorians had of old. This Emperor, an honest soldier but little more, soon shared the fate of Avitus. He forsook a tottering worldly throne for the safer one of a bishop: Salona, in Dalmatia, was the See to which he was preferred. After him came the Emperor Julius **Nepos,** who retained his authority so long as he was propped up, first by the Byzantines, and then by Euric, King of the Visigoths. Euric's presiding genius was Epiphanius, the saintly Bishop of Pavia. Epiphanius offers another instance of the growing power of the Church even in the purely political domain.

Romulus Augustulus, with his adventurous fate, closes the long list of the Cæsars. This little son of Orestes, the Roman general of the German army in Gaul, bore two great names, one reminiscent of the founder of the city of Rome, the other recalling the brilliant builder of the Roman Empire, Augustus. It has often been remarked that history presents scarcely an instance of more bitter irony. Saving the names, the child-Emperor possessed nothing in common with either of his namesakes, who hover like mournful spectres above the grave of the Empire. The real ruler was his father Orestes. When Orestes had been beheaded by the all-powerful general Odovacar, and Romulus Augustulus, after abdicating the throne, had retired into enforced seclusion to the villa of Lucullus, near Naples, the history of the Western Empire was at an end. The cross on the coinage under Romulus (see Ill. 18) is as a cross on the tombstone of the Empire. Henceforth no Western monarch, until we reach Charles the Great, will venture to bear the glorious title *Imperator.*



Ill. 18.—Coin of Romulus Augustulus. Cp. Kraus, *Realencyklopädie des christl. Alterthums,* ii. 445.

73. The Empire in Italy has made way for the **kingdom. Odovacar,** a bold and strong barbarian, son of a Skyre, and formerly in the service of Attila, now, at the invitation of his hordes of mercenaries, assumed the title and authority of King. At Rome the timid Senate saw no alternative but to confirm the choice of the army.

The new King's first act was to compel the State to hand over to his Heruli, Rugians, Turkelings, and Skyres one-third of the public land of Italy. He wished to secure a firm footing for himself and his followers. But this rule by mercenaries,

precisely because it was mercenary, could find no welcome in a civilised land. After thirteen years of government, by no means devoid of moderation and wisdom, Odovacar had not succeeded in creating a State. His people proved quite incapable of founding a civic community, being warriors and nothing more.

From a legal point of view Italy still possessed her Emperor in the East. She still retained her political centre at New Rome. Even Odovacar owned the authority of the Byzantine ruler, though in the main his dependence was purely nominal.

Yet we can in no wise overlook, that, even during those days of humiliation for Italy and for Rome, the idea of a single Roman Empire never lost its vitality. In Odovacar's time Roman Senators expressed themselves in this wise to the Emperor of Eastern Rome: Italy wants no more Emperors of her own; let him who reigns in Byzantium be ruler also of the West. The Senate retained its existence under Odovacar, and the other formalities of Imperial Roman government were duly maintained. With the consent of the Emperor, Odovacar nominated the Consuls for the West; officials were appointed according to the rules in vogue of old among the Romans, and the administrative machinery remained unaltered.

Odovacar never called himself either King of Italy or King of the Romans, but simply "King," without qualification, for his was not a German kingdom, distinct from the Empire. Although he bore the title of king, he was really never more than a governor. Strictly speaking, we might describe him as the highest Imperial functionary in the Western Empire of that day, his position corresponding practically to the ancient *magisterium militiae praesentale*. Thus the new kingly dignity found its place among the institutions already in existence. In fact, throughout the development of the new political conditions during the decline of the Empire, all sharp changes were avoided as much as possible, and nearly everywhere the old deep-laid Roman foundations were visible beneath the new construction.[1]

Odovacar was fully aware that he had no right to wear the *regalia insignia*, the distinctive garb of an *Imperator*, without special leave obtained from the Emperor. He had, however, little liking for such display; it is even said that, finding the *orna-*

[1] MOMMSEN, *Ostgotische Studien*, in the *Neues Archiv*, 14 (1889), 223 ff., 453 ff. Cp. also ibid., p. 536, on the kingdom and position of Odovacar.

menta palatii, i.e. these very insignia, among the effects left by the Western Emperor, he sent them on to Byzantium without a sigh. It is further worthy of note, if we wish to understand his relations with the Empire, that during his reign nothing was dated by the year of his rule, the year of the reigning Emperor invariably serving this purpose; whereas in the real German States it was usual to mention also the year of the King's reign. This tallies with the retention of the ancient custom of setting up at Rome the Emperor's image. It is known that statues of the Emperor Zeno were erected during the rule of Odovacar.[1]

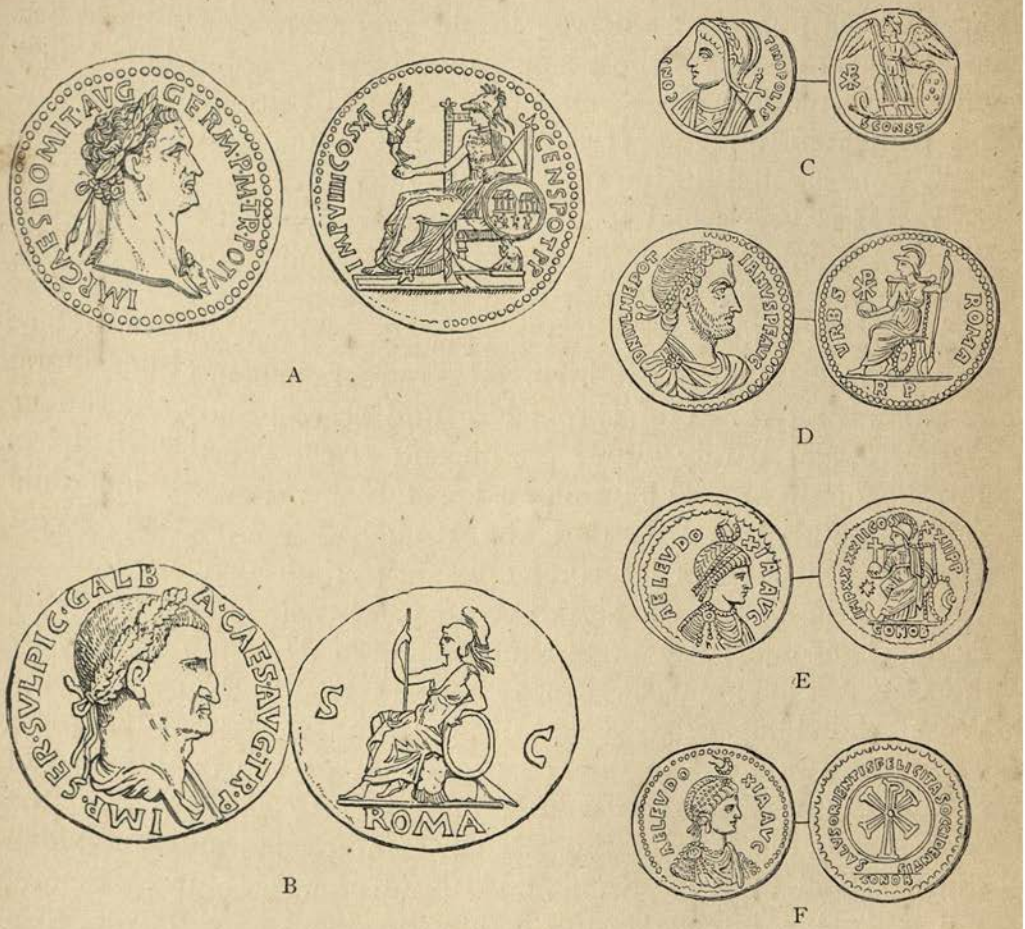
74. It is very usual to treat the year 476, when the series of Western Emperors terminated, as the beginning of the Middle Ages in the West. For this there is some justification, but it is by no means quite correct. The collapse of the Western Empire made very little noise; it involved no great change, either moral or administrative. Old chroniclers find scarcely any alterations to record, and barely allude to the end of the Western Empire. The historian Marcellinus alone has thought it worth his while to mention that at that time the Roman Empire of the West ceased to exist.[2] For a further allusion to this event we have to wait until the end of the eighth century, when it is referred to by Paulus Diaconus; it is again mentioned in the ninth century by the Greek Theophanes. Practically the Roman Empire of the West had long since been disappearing, as the new races wrenched away, one by one, its provinces. Even in the time of Honorius this Empire was little more than a shadow. On the other hand, the idea of the Roman Empire one and undivided still survived in New Rome, now the Empire's centre. Before, and still more after, 476, this feeling began to spread even, to a certain extent, among the Germans. "When Illyricum had been secured by the Eastern Power, and Britain, Spain, Africa, the greater part of Gaul, and the countries between the Danube and the Alps had fallen into foreign hands, all eyes turned to the East, and there sought the authentic Roman Empire, in the midst of those regions whose centre was New Rome. Italy had become

[1] *Anonymi Valesiani pars posterior*, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, IX.), p. 314.

[2] *Chronicon* (*ad an.* 476), ed. MOMMSEN (ibid., XI.), p. 91: "*Hesperium romanae gentis imperium, quod septingentesimo nono urbis conditae anno primus augustorum Octavianus Augustus tenere coepit, cum hoc Augustulo periit, anno decessorum regni imperatorum quingentesimo vigesimo secundo, Gothorum dehinc regibus Romam tenentibus.*"

a mere appendage and offshoot of the Empire, to which she was now readmitted as a subject."[1]

75. Coins of the period typify the political situation and also the Union still in existence. Those from the Empire of



Ill. 19.—Coins of Pagan and Christian Rome.

Coins of Pagan Rome—A, from Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Alterthums*, i. 461, No. 507; B, from ibid., i. 580, No. 623. Christian coins—C, from Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, tav. 482, 3; D, ibid., tav. 481, 28; E, ibid., 42; F, ibid., 38.

Constantinople, some of which we have represented over against coins of Old Rome (see Ill. 19), have a distinctly Christian character. On some specimens Old and New Rome are seated conjointly on a throne. These personifications are usually sur-

[1] Döllinger, *Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen, und seiner Nachfolger*, in the *Münch. Histor. Jahrbuch*, 1865 (p. 299 to 416), p. 309. Engl. trans.: *The Empire of Charles the Great and his Successors*, in *Addresses*, Lon. 1894. Cp. Gaudenzi, *Sui rapporti fra l' Italia e l' impero d' Oriente*, 1888.

mounted by the monogram of Christ, or they support a shield on which this symbol of the Christian Empire is visible, thereby signifying that Christianity had given fresh coherence to the Empire. The figure of the world-ruling city Constantinople either wears a mural crown, or a helmet decorated with one; a long tunic or mantle, and the same ornaments and accessories as Roma. In allusion to her geographical position, and her command over the straits uniting East and West, the prow of a ship is depicted at her feet.[1]

[1] COHEN, *Médailles impériales*, 2e éd., 7, 415, No. 79 ff.; 456, No. 108; 8, 102, No. 7 (shield with the monogram). Cp. PARISOTTI, *Evoluzione del tipo di Roma nelle rappresentanze figurate dell' antichità classica*, in the *Archivio della società romana di storia patria*, 11 (1888), 143. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die Tyche von Konstantinopel*, in the *Analecta graeciensia* (42nd Congress of Philologists at Vienna: Gratz, 1893), p. 141 ff. Strzygowski explains that Constantine bestowed on his newly founded city of Constantinople the sacred name of *Anthusa*, corresponding to *Flora*, the priestly name borne by Rome. As Anthusa, the city was depicted under the ordinary lineaments of Tyche. On the other hand, as New Rome, she was represented according to the type of *Roma aeterna*, in vogue since the time of Hadrian, but with the ship's prow under her right foot. Compare these coins with the twelfth-century copy of the fourth-century *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Here the draughtsman has been guided exclusively by pre-Christian tradition. Cp. HOTZ, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der peutingerschen Tafel* (*Mitth. des österr. Instituts*, VII., 1886, p. 211 ff.).

CHAPTER IV

ROME AT THE INCEPTION OF THE GERMANIC AND ROMANÇE MEDLÆVAL WORLD

The New Nations

76. THE period marked by the extinction of the Western Empire and the reign of Odovacar seems to invite a compendious review of the rising German world, which Old Rome on the Tiber and, to a lesser extent, New Rome on the Bosphorus, will soon be called upon to supply with culture and civilisation.

Odovacar's kingdom had in the North unsettled and unruly neighbours in the Alemanni, the Thuringians, and, above all, the Rugians. The Alemanni gradually extended their sway up the Rhine from Moguntia (Mainz) into the German highlands, on the one hand to Augusta (Augsburg), and on the other beyond Brigantia (Bregenz), and Visontio (Besançon), and even threatened to absorb the whole Roman province of Rhætia. The Rugians had, indeed, none of their stability and organised force, but they made ceaseless inroads upon Roman Noricum, devastating it with fire and sword. These are the barbarian incursions which are so vividly portrayed in the life of St. Severinus, the apostle, saviour, and consoler of the Roman inhabitants of the region. Pannonia, the adjoining country, had been given over to the Rugians, the Heruli, and the Ostrogoths.

The valiant Ostrogoths were at that time settled in Mœsia, but will soon advance thence under Theodoric, to begin their glorious but unhappy career, and to make themselves masters of Italy.

Far to the north, between the upper course of the two rivers, the Oder and the Vistula, we find the Lombards, also future guests and conquerors of Italy. Their occupation of the country was to be far more permanent and influential than that of the Ostrogoths.

In the south and on its western frontier Odovacar's kingdom had a dreaded foe in the **Vandals.** Their rule extended over

Northern Africa, Corsica, Sardinia, and even over the western portion of Sicily, until Odovacar succeeded in driving them out of the latter island. Strange as it may sound, considering the bad character with which the Vandals have been branded by history, in their form of government they approached more than any other new nation the methods of the Romans. In Roman Africa they retained the whole hierarchy of Roman functionaries, and at their capital a Roman—a *vir spectabilis*—was appointed Proconsul for the city and district of Carthage. At the royal palace there was even a *Referendarius*.[1]

77. The whole of Spain—except a few strips of coast-land in the south, and the northern part down to the lower course of the Tagus—belonged to the **Visigoths.** In the latter district the Suevi had established a kingdom. The Visigoths, who were the most powerful and the best disciplined of the new nations, had also overrun the so-called Provincia (Provence) on the northern side of the Pyrenees, as well as Narbonne and Novempopulana. The rule was acknowledged throughout Aquitania as far as the banks of the Liger (Loire). Their most important cities were Biturigæ, Pictavium, Burdigala, and Avernæ (Bourges, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Clermont), but their headquarters was Tolosa, where their King, Euric, kept his Court.

A contemporary, Sidonius Apollinaris, describes in poetic fashion how, in this city of the mighty Prince **Euric**, all the other Germanic states were represented: "There comes the blue-eyed Saxon; accustomed to the sea, where his ships rove through the northern waters, he feels uneasy when on land. There thou mayest see that Sigamber (Frank), with his long hair thrown back from off his temples. There is a Herulian whose complexion reminds one of the waters of his country. The huge Burgundian, towering seven feet high, sues for peace on bended knee, and the proud Ostrogoth seeks for help against the Huns. Even thou, O Roman, comest too, to beg for aid against the Scythian; yea, the powerful Garumna shall protect the feeble Tiber."[2]

In this picture there is some historic truth. Apart from the

[1] *Versus domni Petri referendarii*, in honour of the virginity of Mary—an inscription from the *Basilica palatii Sanctae Mariae* in Carthage, in DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones christianae*, 2, 1, 241, No. 6. See my *Analecta romana*, 1, 109.

[2] SIDONIUS, *Ep.*, 8, 9, vers. 21 ff., ed. LUETJOHANN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, VIII.), p. 136: "*Istic Saxona coerulum videmus | Assuetum ante salo, solum timere. . . . Hinc, Romane, tibi petis salutem | Et contra Scythicae plagae catervas*," &c.

characterisation of the various tribes, the allusion to the attitude in those days of the kingdom of Burgundy towards Euric is worthy of remark. **Burgundy** possessed vast resources, and important cities, such as Lugdunum, Vienna, and Augustodunum (Lyons, Vienne, and Autun). Nevertheless, it had submitted to the rising Visigoths, and acknowledged their supremacy.

78. Yet it was not the terrible Visigoths, but the **Franks** who were eventually to sway the destinies of Gaul and Germany. Out of the original Frankish settlements in Northern Gaul, and on the lower and middle Rhine, **Chlodovec,** or Clovis, whose reign began in 481, founded his powerful kingdom. Previously, during the middle of the century, the Franks were still allies (*foederati*) and subjects of the Empire; indeed, all founders of Germanic states began their careers as Roman generals, who had associated their people as allies with the Empire. Their development into independent governments took place gradually, and Roman influence continued for a long time predominant. The Roman Syagrius, who maintained the last vestige of Imperial power in the district between Aurelianum, Parisii, and Suessiones (Orléans, Paris, Soissons), was vanquished by Chlodovec in the year 486. After this, the Frankish King successfully engaged and overthrew the Alemanni, and finally made an end also of the power of the Visigoths in Gaul. Through his memorable conversion to Catholicism, and by inducing his Pagan followers to follow his example and seek baptism, he cleared the way for the future progress of Frankish civilisation. The respect and consideration shown towards Roman institutions secured the stability of his life-work. Both these influences, even more than his ever-victorious sword, helped to settle permanently the predominance of Frankish power. The Franks alone were destined to maintain their ground as a nation all through the Middle Ages, when the rest of the Germanic races sank into insignificance. It was this same power which in due time re-established the Empire in the person of Charles the Great, and the new Christian Empire was ordained to be a second pillar of Western Christian civilisation side by side with the Roman Papacy.

If we seek in the middle of the general commotion of the fifth century for a grand turning-point in history to mark the commencement of mediæval times, the rise of Chlodovec, and specially his baptism as a Catholic, seem in many ways far more

epoch-making than the event of 476. What was then enacted among the Franks had a far deeper influence over the development of the world than the vanishing-point reached by the old Western Empire. It marks the beginning of a new era, not only outwardly, through the political changes by which it was accompanied or to which it conduced, but, from a moral point of view, through its lasting consequences for civilisation.

Whilst the Franks thus entered the Church directly, without having been misled into Arianism, all other Germanic races, in abandoning heathenism, adopted the Arian tenets.

79. **Arianism** proved itself a very serious hindrance to the healthy social and political progress of these infant States. The Arian sect was feeble and lifeless, the teaching of its bishops and priests being productive of very small results among the people. Their religious views were not very far removed from heathen polytheism, for they only nominally confessed and revered the Divinity of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; in reality, they subordinated both to the Father. By thus considering them as Beings of different rank and importance, they certainly came very near to the idea in vogue among cultured pagans, quite apart from the superstition attached to their worship of these highest Beings. Moreover, Arianism was entirely deficient in unity, either internal or external, and with its want of cohesion could oppose no resistance against outside attack. It was serviceable as a vague and accommodating State religion, but it could strike no deep root in the heart, still less imbue the life of whole nations with the impetus peculiar to religious enthusiasm, with virtue, and the spirit of self-sacrifice.

The wide gulf was very marked which Arianism had created between the Latin Catholic races and their Germanic conquerors, who had from their very cradle imbibed this heresy from the then Arian Byzantium. The earlier Catholic inhabitants were not only prejudiced against the religious beliefs of the new ruling races, but also, not unnaturally, against their social habits, and avoided all intercourse with them. The conquerors, on their side, mistrusted the vanquished. A fusion of races seemed hopelessly impossible. Yet, since the conquerors were devoid of culture, they were compelled to seek instruction from their subordinates. An exchange of ideas was imperative if the nations were to make any real progress, whilst, wherever Arianism prevailed,

this remained either impossible or else very difficult. The conflict of doctrine even led occasionally to sanguinary persecutions directed against the Catholics. These were specially frequent and fierce among the Vandals under Hunneric; but even the Visigoths, before their conversion to the Church of Rome, had poured out in streams the blood of their Catholic subjects.

The German persecutors were stimulated by a wish to institute a National Church entirely subservient to the Government. As Arianism was ready to conform, whilst Catholicism by its very nature and its connection with Rome was opposed to any such measures, Catholics had to be converted to Arianism by fair means or foul. We all know how heroically thousands of martyrs in North Africa endured death rather than conform with the orders of the Vandals.[1]

80. The situation was wholly different in the kingdom of the Franks. Admitted into the living union of the Catholic Church without having passed through Arianism, this strong and gifted race acquired elements of spiritual culture which strengthened it yet more for its work in the future. Of course, prolonged social discipline was required to enable the Franks to accomplish their allotted task of grafting Latin culture on the German temperament. This was a work of centuries. Often during their progress both people and purpose seemed likely to be overwhelmed, either by the adverse influence of uncontrolled national liberty, or by the quarrels and ambition of their kings.

The two enemies which mainly hampered the Franks in their struggles to attain their ultimate position in relation to Rome and the Western Church were an inordinate sense of personal freedom pervading all classes of the people, and the restless

[1] Victor Vitensis devoted an excellent historical work to the Vandal persecution, *Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae sub Geiserico et Hunirico regibus*, ed. HALM, Berol., 1879 (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, t. III., pars. 1), ed. PETSCHENIG, Vien., 1881 (*Corpus scr. eccl. lat.*, t. 7). That Arianism was considered a guarantee of fidelity to the existing ruler, may be seen from King Genseric's demand of a certain Count Boniface: "*Eius efficiaris cultu* (PETSCHENIG, p. 9: *cultor*) *religionis, quam et nos et noster populus veneramur.*" Lib. 1, c. 6, ed. HALM, p. 4. DAHN (*Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, 1, Berlin, 1881, 193) very justly says that the fall of the Vandal kingdom was hastened by their persecution of the Catholics, by their hostility to the Visigoths, and by their general effeminacy, consequent on African luxury. The praises bestowed by Salvianus (see above, p. 72) upon Vandal morality had decidedly ceased to be deserved; they had allowed themselves to be contaminated by the immorality prevalent in the Roman province of North Africa, and even went beyond their models. As regards the reason for their persecution of the Church, see also PAPENCORDT, *Geschichte der vandalischen Herrschaft in Afrika* (Berlin, 1837), pp. 280, 281. Cp. L. SCHMIDT, *Gesch. der Vandalen* (Leip. 1902), and H. LECLERCQ, *L'Afrique chrét.* (Par. 1904).

aspirations and selfish intrigues of the Merovingian princes. In both these directions the Church had to work ceaselessly and patiently. Within wise limits, however, this sense of liberty, coupled with royal authority, were two new and healthy elements imported into the effete ancient world, and, as we said previously in a different connection, it was in the very nature of the Church to support authority and freedom, provided that both were restrained within due bounds. Nor was it long before the new nations, and more especially the Franks, felt the benefit of their national characteristics. The principles brought into practice by these new nations made fresh blood course through the veins of mankind. Take first the noble German aspiration for freedom: Under the Roman system of government and jurisprudence, individual liberty had never been fully recognised; the servile bureaucracy of the late Roman period had reduced it almost to a dead letter; early mediæval legislation, however, allowed it much wider scope. Likewise with the power of the Crown. The *Imperator* of the Romans had been an absolute autocrat. On the other hand, from the outset the Middle Ages recognised a plurality of co-existent independent and rival sovereigns, the authority of each being enhanced by the Cross which he bore among his insignia. Under these manifold sceptres, whose subjects formed one vast Christian family, the national characteristics of each country developed in a manner never dreamt of in the Roman State, with its rigid ideal of enforced equality of laws for all.

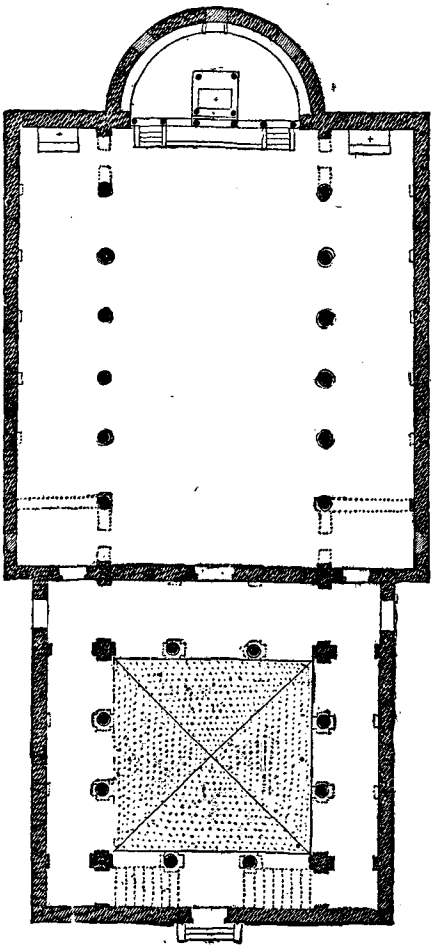
Such were the New Nations which took possession of the provinces of the Western Roman Empire. Our hasty sketch may serve to show some of the shortcomings and also some of the good qualities observable among them.

Roman Culture and the Barbarians

81. Rome and Italy, abandoned to Odovacar's Arian and heathen hordes, became subjects, as we have just seen, of the barbarian kingdom which succeeded the Empire. This was a disgraceful position for the ancient metropolis of the world. It was still more unnatural that Rome should be forced to endure conquerors professing a strange faith, for these barbarians were all Arians, except such as were still pagans.

Every devout Roman attached to his Church must have

experienced deep sorrow at seeing the services publicly performed by Arians in the Holy City of the Apostles and of the martyrs.



Ill. 20.—Plan of the Church of S. Agata dei Goti at Rome.

A church still exists at Rome belonging to that period of foreign Arian domination. This is St. Agatha *in Subura*—also called the church "of the Goths"—founded and decorated by Ricimer. It is a perfect specimen of a small Roman basilica of that epoch (Ill. 20).[1] A large mosaic, also due to Ricimer (Ill. 21),[2] represented Christ seated on the orb, and surrounded by His twelve Apostles. It adorned the apse, and existed, together with Ricimer's inscription, until 1589, when it was destroyed. Gregory the Great reconsecrated this church for Catholic worship at the beginning of his pontificate (590–604). From his account of the dedication we easily discern the dislike and distrust felt by the Romans for the places of worship of these foreign heretics.[3]

Cultured and patriotic Romans could not fail to view with deep anxiety for the future these new kingdoms and the ruin of

[1] From Rohault de Fleury, *Les Saints de la messe*, vol. ii. Pl. 119. The fine atrium in recent times has become a hall. The church itself has been in many respects modernised.

[2] After Garrucci, *Arte crist.*, tav. 240, 2. Ciampini, who was responsible for this drawing, unfortunately gave the figures a character even more modern than they bear in the Vatican drawing mentioned in the next note.

[3] The inscription was as follows: FL · RICIMER · V · I · MAGISTER VTRIVSQVE MILITIAE PATRICIVS ET EX CONS · ORD · PRO VOTO SVO ADORNAVIT. It is reproduced, as well as the mosaic itself, in the *Cod. vat.*, 5407; this has all been copied thence by Ciampini (*Vet. monimenta*, 1, c. 28, Pl. 77), but with questionable arrangement of the Apostles. Cp. also the illustration by Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte*, 4, Pl. 240, pp. 49, 50, and Müntz, *The Lost Mosaics of Rome*, 1, No. 3, in the *American Journal of Archæology*, Sept. 1886. In the mosaic St. Peter holds the

Ill 21.—Old Drawing of the Vanished Mosaic of Ricimer in the Church of S. Agata dei Goti at Rome.

the ancient Empire of the West. Many had no hesitation in proclaiming aloud that the whole Roman Empire was coming to an end. Some must have felt cruelly the refusal of Honorius to countenance in 404 the celebration of the *Ludi sæculares*, those time-honoured games which had commemorated ancient Rome throughout the period of the Republic and of the Empire.[1] The poets of the period only express the general feeling when they declare that the age had come of the twelve vultures Romulus was said to have seen. Both the Pagan writer Claudian, and the Christian Sidonius Apollinaris, apply the fulfilment of the legend to their own time. According to the Augur Vettius, as quoted by Varro, the kingdom of Romulus would endure for twelve hundred years—then new rulers would arise. Doubtless visions of the German conquerors in the provinces floated before the Christian poet Sidonius when, in his address to the Emperor Avitus, he exclaims in these words: "Already we hear the rustle of the twelfth vulture's wings. Rome, thy doom approaches fulfilment; thou knowest thy sufferings!"[2]

82. No literary productions of that period give us better insight into contemporary opinions on Rome and the ordeal awaiting her civilisation, and into the condition of the Germanic races, than these writings of **Sidonius**. He is a hearty champion of Roman culture among the barbarians established in the Empire.

Sidonius, the Gallic poet and future Bishop of Avernæ (Clermont), in his address to Avitus, makes the gods hold solemn council; the description is full of classical allusions, in fact, it is a good specimen of the bad taste and pedantry then prevailing in the schools of rhetoric. Jupiter, the "Father of the Celestials," seats himself upon a throne surrounded by his court. Roma appears before him, and, in a long-winded speech, he announces that the twelve hundred years predicted to Romulus

key in the folds of his pallium. On the church of St. Agatha in Subura, cp. LAURENTI, *Storia della diaconia di S. Agata*, Roma, 1797 (p. 7, about the mosaic), CIAMPINI, l.c., and MOTHES, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien*, 1 (Jena, 1884), 84. For Gregory the Great, see *Greg. Dial.*, 3, c. 30, and *Greg. Registrum*, 4, n. 19.

[1] C. LOVATELLI, *I Ludi secolari* (*Nuova antologia*, Dec. 15, 1899).

[2] *Carmen*, 7, *Panegyricus in Avitum aug.*, v. 357 ff. (*P. L.*, LVIII., 688; ed. LUETJOHANN, p. 212): "*Iam prope fata tui bis senas vulturis alas | Complebant; scis namque tuos, scis Roma labores.*" Cp. CLAUDIAN, *De bello pollentino sive gothico*, v. 265, ed. BIRT (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, X.), p. 269, who states that at Alaric's approach the Romans had feared the fulfilment of this augury. CENSORINUS, *De die natali*, c. 17 (ed. LINDENBROG), p. 97, according to the prediction of the augur Vettius in the eighteenth book of Varro: "*quoniam centum viginti annos praeterisset populus romanus, ad mille et ducentos perventurum.*"

are almost at their term, but that he intends renewing her youth; she will become more glorious and more magnificent than ever—because, forsooth, of the marvellous reign of the Emperor Avitus. On this announcement, poor Roma is, of course, overwhelmed with the congratulations of the assembled Olympians.

In this artificial production of the poet, what most concerns us and our subject is the sad and dejected figure of Roma. Here, with the troubles of the time yet fresh in his memory, Sidonius speaks with greater truth and feeling than elsewhere. According to him, the goddess Roma comes before Jupiter weighed down with sorrow, and scarcely able to crawl; the helmet has been torn from her brow; her hair falls tangled and bedraggled down her back; even the shield which she still holds seems beyond her strength to support, and she well knows that the old spear which she carries in her hand has long ceased to inspire any terror. With sobs she begins her lament that all-powerful Fate has been too strong for her; the protecting roof, under which she had once gathered all the peoples of the world, is now giving way above her.[1]

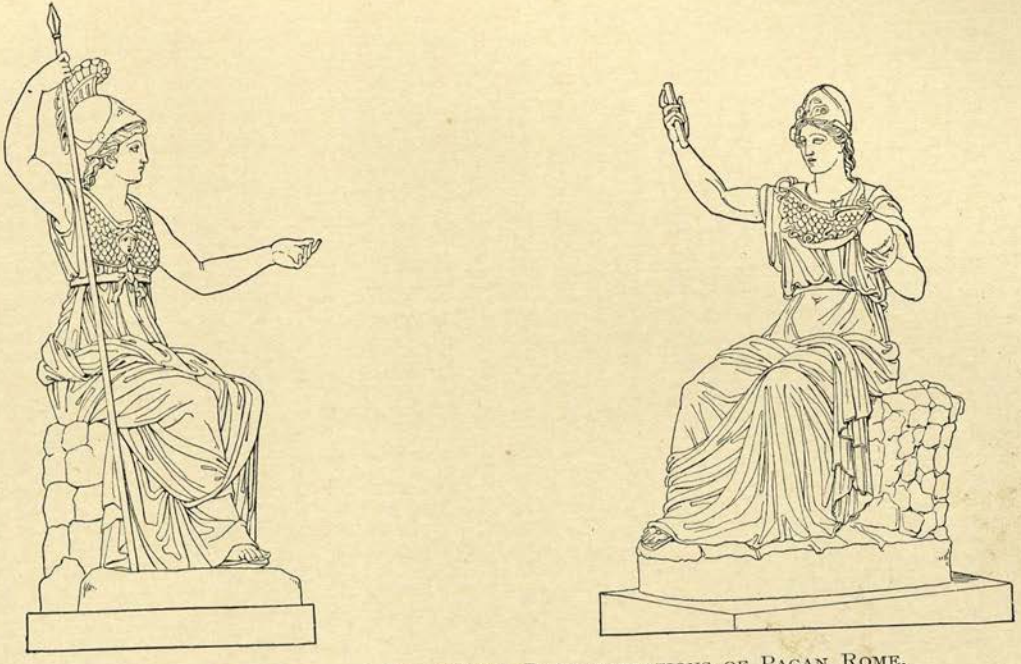
Sidonius, as a Gallo-Roman, and in consequence of his high position under the Imperial Government, was imbued with a strong spirit of Roman patriotism. In his poems he shows a certain preference for depicting Roma in all her pristine power. In two passages he gives full details of her appearance and of her significant emblems.[2]

His descriptions exactly recall the conventional artistic type by which Roman sculpture represented Roma as the symbol of universal dominion; as the goddess who in heathen times had been worshipped in her temples as the personification of world-wide power. If, however, we may apply a scientific standard, Sidonius's description does not tally precisely with any actual portraiture of Roma in antique art. (Ill. 22).[3] Many such

[1] Roma thus addresses the *pater superum*, ibid., v. 51 ff. (*P. L.*, LVIII., coll. 679; LUETJOHANN, 204): "*Testor, sancte parens, inquit, te, numen et illud | Quicquid Roma fui: summo satis obruta fato, | Invideo abiectis, pondus non sustinet ampli | Culminis arta domus*," &c.

[2] *Carmen*, 5, *Panegyricus in Maiorianum aug.*, v. 13 ff. (*P. L.*, LVIII., 659; LUETJOHANN, 188). *Carmen*, 2, *Panegyricus in Anthemium aug. bis consulem*, v. 384 ff. (*P. L.*, LVIII., 653; LUETJOHANN, 183).

[3] CLARAC, *Musée des statues*, Pl. 768 and 332. The first statue (that with the lance) is at the Capitoline museum in Rome, the other at the Louvre in Paris. Cp. REINACH, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, vol. i.; *Clarac de poche* (Paris, 1897), p. 450, No. 1904, and p. 168, No. 1903.



Ill. 22.—Types of the Sculptured Representations of Pagan Rome.

types have been preserved, and they have been classified by archæologists in the order of their development and according to their varieties.[1]

Sidonius takes the liberty of adding to the type of Roma, usual after Hadrian's time, certain earlier details, or such as were less frequently in use in Imperial times. On the other hand, strange to say, though a Christian, he quite omits the monogram of Christ—the distinctive symbol of the Christian Empire—from the attributes of Roma, though during the period subsequent to Constantine this emblem almost invariably made its appearance in personifications of the city, such, for instance, as we find upon coins.[2] As depicted by Sidonius, Roma is frankly Pagan, and this detail, though seemingly unimportant, is very characteristic of the literary views and customs obtaining among these Christian Roman authors. Having regard to the general scheme of the present work, we feel justified in describing her and casting one more retrospective glance over classical antiquity.

The poet represents Roma, all-powerful and triumphant, in the garb of a warlike amazon, in short tunic buckled only over one shoulder. The helmet towers above the mural crown and wreath of laurel. Her hair falls in masses over her back and shoulders. Below the knee her legs are bound in the straps and chains of the *Cothurnus*. A sword, ornamented with *bullae*, dangles from her belt. Her trusty spear is made of ivory tipped with bronze, while the mighty shield borne on her left arm displays the metal figures of Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, as well as Mars and Rhea Silvia, from whom they claimed descent, and Cupid and the Tiber. Thus attired, Roma is seated on a rocky throne, while beside her the war goddess Bellona hangs upon the trunk of a mighty oak those trophies of which Rome had despoiled the nations. "The overpowering majesty of the figure," finally remarks the poet of his own production, "is enhanced by her chaste dignity, and even more

[1] PARISOTTI, *Evoluzione del tipo di Roma*, in the *Archivio rom. patria*, II (1888), 59–148, after the article by FRIEDRICH KENNER, *Die Romatypen* (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, phil.-histor. Klasse*, 1857). BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, p. 1535 ff. Cp. ibid., illust. 623 (Roma represented as an Amazon). A copy of the important picture of Roma, preserved at the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, was published by G. KÖRTE in the *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1885, p. 23, Pl. 4.

[2] Many examples in Parisotti, p. 141 ff. Those on the Christian consular diptychs are particularly interesting.

impressive than her peculiar beauty is her force and warlike strength."[1]

83. Gaius Sollius Apollinaris Modestus **Sidonius**, to give him his full name, was born at Lugdunum (Lyons), and was grandson of an Imperial Prefect of the Prætorium for Gaul. His poems, and still more his letters, are a perfect mine of historical information. As a typical representative of the Latin classicism of his day, though he draws largely on Christian thought, he allows all the creations of his pen to talk in Pagan fashion. He sacrifices everything to style. So enamoured is he of the defects and affectations of the decadence, that he is quite unconscious of the emptiness of his mythological imagery, and of the questionable taste of his word-play and poetical artifices. His chief models were the Pagan poets Statius and Claudian. His devotion to Pagan classicism has even led some to suspect that he was little more than a nominal Christian. This was, however, not the case; his apparent Paganism was all outward form: at heart Sidonius was a good Christian.

When, after an adventurous life, this experienced man of the world was chosen bishop, he at once renounced as worldly his poetic work, and devoted himself exclusively to the welfare of the semi-barbarians entrusted to his care. He feared being accused of levity did he devote his time to frivolities instead of busying himself in the sacred duties of his office. He must not now, as he says, mar the grave dignity of the cleric by praising men in verse. In future he will confine himself to singing occasionally the glory of the martyrs, "who at the price of their blood bought the everlasting reward of Life," and to praising the heavenly mediators, whose help during severe trials he has himself experienced. Many of his earlier poems he would fain see destroyed.[2]

84. The effusions of this late Gallo-Roman are not to be compared with the poems of the Christian singer Prudentius. Prudentius escaped the influence of the decadence in literary taste. Through the works of this dignified Spaniard there flows a

[1] *In Maiorianum*, l.c.: "*Laetitiam censura manet, terrorque pudore | Crescit, et invita superat virtute venustas.*" On the goddess Roma see WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902), p. 281 ff.

[2] *Ep.*, 9, No. 12, *ad Oresium*: "*Facilitati posset accommodari, si me occupasset levitas versuum, quem respicere coeperat gravitas actionum*" (*P. L.*, LVIII., 629; LUETJOHANN, 162). Regarding his new resolutions, see *Ep.*, 9, No. 16, *ad Firminum* (*P. L.*, LVIII., 638; LUETJOHANN, 170).

current of deep feeling and genuine enthusiasm. A similar difference exists between the letters of Sidonius (though these are more sober and informing than his poems) and those left us by certain earlier ecclesiastical writers. They are, for instance, immensely inferior to the letters of St. Jerome. In force and feeling our Gallic rhetor falls far short of this early Father, who was himself no mean classical scholar. We can only regret that classical culture was brought before the new nations under such an unnatural disguise; vapid outpourings such as those of Sidonius could have but little attraction for these children of nature.

In the schools of Southern Gaul, especially, grammarians and rhetoricians stubbornly strove to preserve all the traditions of this fast-disappearing Roman classicism. Of these schools Sidonius was a pupil. Eventually his poems were adopted as models for a sort of learned Christian poesy, and thus he at least served as a link between classical literature and culture and the poetry of the new nations during the Middle Ages.

85. Whilst the epistles of Sidonius give us a vivid picture of the state of civilisation in the Empire at its decline, his life and sphere of action afford a certain insight into the intellectual and spiritual conditions then prevailing at Rome itself.[1]

No one had been more ready with panegyrics for each rapidly succeeding Emperor than he. No one could more easily adopt new views. It was almost indifferent to him whether the new and the old Emperors had been friends or foes. These fulsome panegyrics brought him into high favour, and that was all he cared about. For having, in 456, extolled the consulship of his father-in-law Avitus, now Emperor, and described the Assembly of the Gods and Roma's rejuvenescence through the reign of the new ruler, he was rewarded by having his statue erected on Trajan's Forum. With great complacency he penned, in Sapphic verse, an account of this grand event to his friend Firminus. Nerva Trajanus, he tells him, looked down upon the statue bearing the name of Sidonius, which it had been found fit to erect in the *Forum Traianum* amidst the monuments of the authors of the works preserved in the two libraries near by. To another friend,

[1] AMÉDÉE THIERRY, in his attractively written *Récits de l'histoire romaine au 5e siècle*, has made very good use of Sidonius. Cp. GIBBON, *History of the Decline, etc., of the Rom. Emp.* (ed. W. SMITH, 1872), 4, 263.

Valerian, he writes in hexameters that at that memorable moment "the *porticus Ulpia* had sparkled with the bronze" of Sidonius.[1]

This same poet was also lucky enough to gain the good graces of the succeeding Emperor Majorian by a panegyric on his second consulship. In this one we hear Vandal Africa imploring help of the goddess Roma, and, in answer, aid is promised through the invincible Emperor. When later Anthemius became Emperor, he too received a poetic tribute in which the inevitable Roma once more appears on the scene; she is hastening to the East in search of the Greek Anthemius, who is to be the saviour of Italy.[2]

This last poem, which Sidonius, as usual, recited publicly before its hero, was the means of raising him to the dignity of City Prefect. As the poet himself phrases it, "the people of Quirinus and the purple-robed Senate had wreathed a double crown of bay about his brows," *i.e.* voted him a statue on Trajan's Forum and then made him Prefect.[3]

86. Our energetic Gallo-Roman was ultimately to deserve a more enduring crown through his conduct as Bishop of Avernæ, to which see he was elected about the year 470. In this position he was not only successful in elevating and improving the population from a religious point of view, but also, through his powerful guidance, in supporting and shielding them during times of war and turmoil. His foresight and energy long protected the town against the assaults of the Visigoths.

Sidonius thus enables us to realise the active part taken by educated Christian Romans in the social and political life of the new States. The bishops all of them belonged to old Roman families of the conquered provinces. During those unsettled times all the advantages they derived from their education and their religious position were used for the good of their flock. They saw to the defence of their cities, and, when necessary, went as envoys to treat for peace. But what was yet more—and in this Sidonius was eminently successful—they softened rough

[1] *Ep.*, 9, No. 16, *ad Firminum*, v. 25 (LUETJOHANN, 171): "*Cum meis poni statuam perennem | Nerva Traianus titulis videret | Inter auctores utriusque fixam | Bibliothecae.*" Cp. *Carmen*, 8, *ad Priscum Valerianum*, v. 8 (*P. L.*, LVIII., 694; LUETJOHANN, 218): "*Ulpia quod rutilat porticus aere meo.*"

[2] The introduction begins (*P. L.*, LVIII., 639; LUETJOHANN, 173): "*Cum iuvenem super astra Iovem natura locaret, | Susciperetque novus regna vetusta deus.*"

[3] *Ep.*, 9, No. 16, *ad Firminum*. The poem to Anthemius and the nomination of Sidonius as City Prefect both date from the year 468.

natures by the power of religion; they broke the bread of faith to the ignorant, and taught those whom the difficulties of this life had rendered desperate to tread the path leading to the eternal life of heaven. It was this religious teaching which formed the strong point of their educational system, not speeches and poems, not literature and art, nor any form of mere worldly instruction.

Roman Buildings: their Alleged Destruction by the Barbarians.

87. Since ancient times a curious delusion has existed, and still exists, among ill-informed people, that the monuments of ancient Rome owed their destruction to the barbarians, the Goths, Vandals, or other new nations. For centuries popular tradition in Rome has repeated this legend, and people have railed against the hate, envy, and wanton destructiveness of these Northern conquerors. Yet it can be proved that this childish opinion was only formulated towards the end of the Middle Ages. It was the merest fancy, but the early writers on the Roman monuments, the so-called *antiquarii* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, accepted this tradition without question and repeated it in their writings. Thus in a little book entitled "Antiquities of the City" (1527), a Roman, **Andreas Fulvius**, saw fit to recount with much indignation how the barbarians had greedily carried off one after the other beautiful monuments and buildings; how they even dragged away the marble, or burnt it for lime, breaking up or carrying off the inscriptions, that posterity might know nothing about these monuments and their fate. Where the buildings were too substantial for them to give free play to their love of destruction, these grudging enemies of Rome's fineries strove to deform and deface them to the best of their power.[1]

Even the famous **Raphael Sanzio** shared this belief of his age. In a letter to Pope Leo X. he accuses the "Goths and Vandals" of having outraged the monuments of the "Queen of the World." Still he has sufficient sense of justice not to forget

[1] *Antiquitates urbis* (Romae, 1527) in the preface to Clement VII. In the circular Temple of the *Mater Matuta* (the so-called Temple of Vesta), in front of S. Maria in Cosmedin, inside the portico, the outer marble wall of the shrine is deeply scored over its surface. This was done during mediæval times to support a layer of plaster for holding mosaics when the temple was turned into the church of St. Stephen. Remains of this plaster are still to be seen. In 1890 I was much interested to hear from the caretaker of the temple that these marks were the work of the German barbarians, who could not bear to leave untouched such a beautiful Roman temple.

the delinquencies in this respect of the mediæval Romans, and even to condemn the reckless conduct of his own contemporaries towards the monuments of antiquity.[1]

We have only touched upon this subject in order to show that it is a perfect anachronism to speak of Rome being destroyed during the fifth or even the sixth century. The destruction of ancient Rome was the slow work of later centuries, beginning perhaps about the seventh and lasting to the so-called Renaissance, and even well into the latter period. The barbarians—Alaric and the Vandals and the subsequent Ostrogoths—never destroyed the city, but were mainly content with its plunder. Their eyes fastened on the accumulations of gold, silver, and other valuables, on choice statuary and movable artistic treasures of all sorts. We saw indeed that under Alaric several buildings were either destroyed or damaged by fire, but it is a far cry from the rough work of robbers—even when their blind rage turns to incendiarism—to the complete or partial destruction of a huge metropolis of marble palaces. It is almost comic to picture these greedy booty-seekers, forgetting (according to the legend) all that they were in search of, and turning in sheer spite to the demolition of stone walls and blocks of towering structures, and casting down in the nick of time buildings which it had taken thousands of men long years to erect. It should have been borne in mind that these "Goths and Vandals" had a much pleasanter and much less exhausting task in pillaging the wealthy city.

As early as the sixteenth century old Petrus Angelus Bargæus expressed his astonishment at the existence of such a tradition. After examining the charges he benignly absolves the barbarians from the imputation. Among other reasons, he observes that Gregory the Great, who was himself a Roman, when speaking of the decay of the city monuments, makes the elements and not the barbarians responsible for it.[2]

Besides the elements and the heavy hand of time, there was a still stronger destructive influence at work on the buildings of

[1] *Lettera sulle antichità di Roma, scritta da Raffaello d' Urbino a Papa Leone X e di nuovo posta in luce da P. E. Visconti*, nuova ediz., Roma, 1840; see also PASSAVANT, *Das Leben Rafaels*, 3, 43 (French edit., Paris, 1860, 2, 509); E. MÜNTZ, *Raphaël archéologue et hist. d'art, Gazette des beaux-arts*, Oct.–Nov. 1880.

[2] PETRI ANGELI BARGAEI (Pietro Angeli di Barga), *De privatorum publicorumque aedificiorum urbis Romae eversoribus epistola* (Florentiae, 1589), p. 41: "*Absolutis Gothis ac Vandalis*," &c.; p. 42, on the passages in Gregory's *Dial.*, 2, 15 ("*Roma a gentibus non exterminabitur*," &c., St. Benedict's prediction) and *In Ezech.*, lib. 2, hom. 18.

ancient Rome. This was the prevalent bad habit of using the materials of the old mansions, theatres, temples, &c., in the erection of new structures, sacred or secular. To this we must add the many mediæval fights for the possession of the city strongholds, which had been mostly erected inside ancient buildings, and the haphazard excavations undertaken in search of treasure, where want of caution resulted in much needless damage. Many other individual causes we cannot here enumerate.[1]

88. In the sixth century the Greek **Procopius** praises the care bestowed upon their splendid ancient edifices by the Romans. "I know of no city," he says, "which equals Rome in anxiety for the preservation of her ancient adornments. Although she had to suffer so severely from the barbarians, she contrived to retain her buildings safe and sound. She can display whole avenues of artistic structures of such enormous size and strength, that neither time nor neglect could affect them. Monuments are still standing in the City, which recall the period of her foundation."[2]

A succession of Imperial edicts provided for the architectural preservation of Rome. Their enforcement devolved upon the City Prefect, who, by Imperial appointment, was not only head of the Senate and supreme administrator and judge, but was also,

[1] CARLO FEA, *Dissertazione sulle rovine di Roma*, in vol. iii. of his translation of WINCKELMANN'S *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (*Storia delle arti del disegno*), Roma, 1783 (1783–1784), p. 267 ff., p. 276: "I barbari non hanno bruciate, atterrate, rovinate le fabbriche (di Roma)." On the contrary, of the tenth century and the beginning of the Middle Ages, he says (p. 406): ". . . quei secoli di miseria universale, e di barbarie in ogni genere, di arti, di lettere e di costume, in cui la città ad altro non pensava, che a consumare e divorar sè stessa." In the previously quoted essay (p. 22.) on the statues and temples, de Rossi proves against Beugnot (*Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en Occident*), that it was not until the sixth century, later than the Ostrogothic period, that the destruction of Rome and the ruin of its monuments began. Cp. *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1865, p. 8. LANCIANI, *Sulle vicende edilizie di Roma* (in *Monografia della città di Roma*, parte 1), p. 41: "Egli è omai dimostrato, che i Romani hanno cagionato più rovine che non i barbari nelle loro ripetute invasioni. . . . I guasti da loro (barbari) cagionati erano di poca entità. . . . Tali disastri sono di gran lunga superati da quelli, di cui si rese colpevole l' imperatore Costante II. l' anno 663." Cp. LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome* (1889), p. 276, where he furnishes proof that the much-vaunted sixteenth century did more for the destruction of Rome's early monuments than all the preceding ten centuries put together. He calls the years 1540 to 1549 the Roman Forum's Reign of Terror (p. 154). DYER, in his *History of the City of Rome* (1865), sect. 8, c. 17, p. 399 ff., says tersely and truly: "The process of spoliation, conversion, and destruction was pursued by the emperors and the popes, and even by private individuals. . . . The Romans were by very far the principal destroyers of Rome." Even as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Poggio Bracciolini of Florence, speaking of the Coliseum, remarks, with Florentine spite against the Romans, and also with some exaggeration: "*ob stultitiam Romanorum maiori ex parte ad calcem deletum*" (*De varietate fortunae urbis Romae*, in SALLENGRE, *Novus thesaurus*, 1, 506). Cp. GREGOROVIUS, 1^4, 153, 210.

[2] *De bello gothico*, IV., c. 22.

at the time of which we write, the highest official resident at Rome. According to the official list of the later Empire (*notitia dignitatum*) he had under him, for the management of public buildings, a *curator operum maximorum*, and a *curator operum publicorum*; further, a special *curator statuarum*, a *comes formarum* for the aqueducts, a *comes riparum et alvei Tiberis et cloacarum*, to care for the river-side and sewers. Add to these a special *consularis aquarum*, and for the landing-stages and river-traffic, a *comes portus* and a *centenarius portus*. Moreover, for the warehouses (*Emporia*) on the Tiber, a *curator horreorum Galbanorum*, &c., not forgetting the *tribunus rerum nitentium*, or Chief Commissioner of Police for general cleanliness.[1]

There was therefore, under all-embracing Roman administration, no lack of functionaries for taking care of the city and its dignity. Yet already many liberties began to be taken. Decaying edifices were often despoiled of their stones or ornaments for the benefit of buildings or repairs in progress elsewhere. This was, however, nothing new. Both Diocletian and Constantine, from motives of economy or haste, had used old materials for their new constructions.[2]

In the code of Theodosius and in that of Justinian, under the titles of *De operibus publicis* and *De operibus privatis*, we find it repeatedly forbidden to enrich new buildings at the expense of ancient public edifices.[3]

A law of the Emperors Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian (376) ordains: "Whosoever wishes to erect any new building in the City, must procure his own materials; he is not at liberty to

[1] For details regarding the City Prefect, see MOMMSEN, *Staatsrecht*, 2 (1887), 1069; *Notitia dignitatum*, ed. SEECK, p. 113 ff. The Constantinian regionary survey ascribes to each of the fourteen regions forty-eight *vicomagistri* and two *curatores*. Naturally the more important buildings stood under exceptional management, as, for instance, the Imperial Palace, which had its own guardian, called the *curapalatii*.

[2] In 1874, near the church of SS. Peter and Marcellin, a building was discovered, which the stamp on the bricks proved to be a bath erected under Diocletian. In a very short time ninety-five statues, busts, fragments of columns, vases, pillars, and remains of sculpture were brought up from its foundations (LANCIANI, *Vicende edilizie*, p. 40). On the triumphal Arch of Constantine it is easy to distinguish the excellent sculptures purloined from an Arch of Trajan from the coarse work of Constantine's own time. When Clement XII., wishing to restore the Arch of Constantine, authorised the masons to obtain marble by stripping the frieze of the majestic Basilica of Antoninus Pius on the Piazza di Pietra, he was unhappily only continuing the traditions of the builders of that arch. In the seventies the whole marble roof, tiles and gutters complete, of an unknown building was discovered among the foundations of the Baths of Constantine, besides both whole and broken statuary, busts, and relievos, as well as shafts of columns and coloured marble slabs.

[3] *Cod. Theodos.*, XV., 1; *Cod. Iustiniani*, VIII., 10, 12.

use everything which happens to come handy, to dig up the foundations of famous monuments, nor to cut anew stones taken from public structures, nor to deface public buildings by appropriating thence blocks or slabs of marble."[1] The same law, moreover, very wisely prohibits the construction of any new public buildings without real reason or necessity. Now that the seat of Government had been transferred to Constantinople, there was at Rome a surplus of public edifices, in fact they were so numerous that their upkeep proved very expensive. "Let no City Prefect," runs the edict, "or other high official erect any new building in the noble City of Rome (*Roma inclyta*); his care will better be directed to the restoration of ancient edifices." According to the tenor of this law, the taxes collected annually for building purposes were to be devoted to the preservation of existing monuments.

Another protective enactment was issued by the Emperor Honorius to safeguard the heathen temples. This, however, left a loophole for abuse. It conceded that at least such structures, sacred or profane, as were already quite in ruins, or served neither to adorn the city nor for the benefit of its inhabitants, might be put up for sale. Experience soon proved that people were disposed to stretch very far the license thereby granted.

89. One of the last of the nominal Emperors deserves credit, both for having stopped the abuses to which the law of Honorius had given rise by abolishing its concession, and for having adopted strong measures to ensure the preservation of the city; and this at a time when the authorities generally were totally oblivious of previous decrees to this effect. We allude to the high-minded Emperor **Majorian.**[2]

His edict clearly shows on whose shoulders must be laid the burden of the blame for having commenced the demolition of Rome. He therein states that he has been deeply concerned to learn that, with the sanction and approval of the Government, public buildings have been destroyed. The magnificent legacies of antiquity have been robbed, and people have excused themselves by saying that the stones were required for repairs, petty structures being restored at the expense of the great. People

[1] *Cod. Theodos.*, XV., 1, 19: ". . . *non redivivis de publico saxis*," &c.

[2] *Legum novellarum divi Maioriani augusti*, Liber 4, *De aedificiis publ.*, tit. 6. In GOTHOFREDUS, *Cod. Theodos.*, at the end of vol. vi., p. 154. Cp. with Note *f*, ibid. p. 155.

are even beginning—and this with the connivance of the City Fathers—to erect private dwellings with materials taken from public buildings. He has accordingly been induced to make it a general law that no one shall dare lay sacrilegious hands on the temples or any other monuments. Should any official of higher rank sanction such a proceeding, he shall be mulcted in a penalty of fifty pounds in gold; subordinate officials (*apparitores et numerarii*) proved accessory to such dealings shall be scourged and have the hands cut off which they have raised against the heirlooms of former ages. This drastic law, though hardly ever enforced, shows us that Majorian was in grim earnest; incidentally it also throws a very vivid light on the then state of Roman officialdom. The punishments threatened in the last clause were, however, by no means of unusual severity.[1]

With regard to the buildings, continues the Emperor, which private persons have hitherto despoiled, nothing further may now be carried away; everything reverts to the State. For the future he cancels all authorisation to alienate ancient buildings. If any edifice must be removed, either because it is beyond restoration, or because the site is required for other purposes, then the matter must be submitted to the Senate, which shall in due course acquaint him with its decision in order that he may do as he sees fit, and authorise the materials to be used for adorning some other structure.

Among other reasons, Majorian based this law of 458 on the respect due to a venerable and beautiful city. Her beauty must not be disfigured for, surely, her splendour deserves the devotion of her citizens.

90. Amid all the horrors accompanying the Gothic war of the following century, the famous general, **Belisarius,** also dwells upon Rome's splendour. His words fittingly correct the impression that Rome, after the fall of the Western Empire, was a mere mound of wrecked classical remains. When begging the Gothic King Totila to spare the city, Belisarius writes as follows: "Many

[1] This decree proves that the City Prefect had connived at the work of spoliation. It says that all had taken place *per gratiam iudicum in urbe positorum*, and *urbani officii suggestione*. As regards the penalty, an inscription from the Janiculus (c. 488), preserved in the Einsiedeln Collection, contains the edict of the City Prefect, Claudius Julius Ecclesius Dynamius, to the millers, threatening the *fustuarium supplicium* to all who infringe it. *Corp. inscript. lat.*, VI., No. 1711; DE ROSSI, *Inscript. urbis Romae*, 2, 1, p. 28. Another old law commanded that deserters from the army should have their hands cut off. Valerius Maximus, II., vii., 11.

centuries have conspired to create the monuments in which thou now seest her decked. Many Emperors and the best architects and artists in the world have laboured through long ages at this work. Rome is thus a memorial of all the talent and genius of antiquity."[1]

That Rome in the sixth century remained in a good state of preservation, and could afford to ignore such losses as she had experienced, surrounded as she still was by the wealth and grandeur of the monuments yet standing, appears also from the enthusiastic description left us by **Cassiodorus.** Writing at the beginning of the century, Cassiodorus, Prime Minister of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and the last Roman statesman, in a document drawn up at Rome dealing with the appointment of an *architectus publicorum*, and addressed in his sovereign's name to the City Prefect, says: "The Ancients reckoned seven Wonders of the World, but these are all surpassed by the marvellous spectacle which this unique City offers. We can truly say: Rome is one great Wonder."[2]

Cassiodorus also impresses upon this architect that he must watch over that "marvellous forest of buildings," as he calls it, with the utmost care. "The lofty walls," he says, "rest upon slender columns, seemingly cast in wax, so perfect are their proportions, so slight their supports. The stones of the walls are so admirably fitted that the whole mass seems to have sprung up spontaneously. Moreover, antiquity has, so to speak, peopled this whole City with statues. Life is infused into the stone and bronze figures, giving them the likeness of real human beings." He ends with a poetic touch: "Thou seest the sculptured chargers, snorting with dilated nostrils, impatient to break away."

In another decree the eloquent statesman and scholar speaks of the "surprising number of horses in stone and bronze" scattered about the city of his day. In such a place, he exclaims,

[1] PROCOPIUS, *De bello gothico*, III., c. 22.

[2] CASSIODORUS, *Variarum*, 7, No. 15 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 719; ed. MOMMSEN, *Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, XII.), 212: "*Nunc autem potest esse veridicum, si universa Roma dicatur esse miraculum.*" Martial sang of Rome's beauty and grandeur: "*Terrarum dea gentiumque Roma, | Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum.*" *Epigram.*, 12, 8, v. 1 (ed. GILBERT, 1886, p. 284). Claudian, Rome's last Pagan poet, says in book iii., *De consulatu Honorii*, v. 131 ff. (ed. BIRT, *Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, X., 2, p. 225): "*Qua nihil in terris complectitur altius aether, | Cuius nec spatium visus nec corda decorem | Nec laudum vox ulla capit; quae luce metalli | Aemula vicinis fastigia conserit astris.*"

"No guards should be needed; respect and admiration should suffice to shield the beauty of Rome."[1]

Elsewhere he gives a description, wonderfully clear in spite of its verbosity, of the aqueducts, whose lofty hill-like arches still bring copious streams of water into the city. He depicts the still undamaged public fountains which refresh and enliven the aspect of the city, the Naumachiæ, forming regular lakes inside the city, and the luxuriously appointed Thermæ or public baths, the *Circus Maximus*, with its two towering obelisks, and various decorative buildings; lastly, he comes to the magnificent *Sacra Via*, leading to the Forum, where the ancient and already tottering brazen elephants attract his attention.[2]

91. The Greek, **Procopius** of Cæsarea, whom we have already named, writing a trifle after Cassiodorus, singles out a few specially famous statues and monuments which were then in perfect preservation. His statements confirm what we have said, and prove that Rome, in the main, was but little changed. Myron's famous cow he found still standing in the Forum of Peace, likewise the valuable brazen bull which adorned one of the fountains, and which he took to be a work of Phidias or of Lysippus, He states that works of both masters were standing there, and that the name of Phidias was clearly legible under one statue. To Procopius it was also given to admire the legendary vessel of Æneas—that memorial of the city's remotest history—which was treasured in a public place (Navale) near the Tiber. He attests that the bronze double-faced statue of Janus, some five ells in height, was still preserved in the undamaged brass-covered temple of that god on the Roman Forum. He adds that, during the wars of his day, it had occurred to certain unknown Romans to open, according to heathen custom, the brazen gates of this temple, but that they had been obliged to break them, in which they had, however, been only partially successful. From this it would seem that Rome and her classic buildings had to experience occasional damage from Pagans.[3]

[1] *Variarum*, 7, No. 13 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 717; MOMMSEN, p.210), on the appointment of the *comitiva Romana* for some functionary entrusted with the protection of the city: "*Quidam populus copiosissimus statuarum, greges etiam abundantissimi equorum.*"

[2] Aqueducts, &c. *Variarum*, 7, n. 6 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 712). *Circus Maximus*, 3, No. 51 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 605). Fountains, 3, No. 53 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 609). Elephants, 10, No. 30 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 818). SIDONIUS, 1, *Ep.*, 5 (*P. L.*, LVIII., 454; LUETJOHANN, p. 8).

[3] Statues in the *forum pacis*, *De bello goth.*, IV., c. 21; the Ship of Æneas, ibid., IV., c. 22; Temple of Janus, ibid., I., c. 25.

The list of monuments whose existence at that date proves that the city and even its ornaments had been preserved, might be lengthened by adducing the results of recent excavations and the Roman records of the numerous buildings and ancient monuments still standing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One remarkable find during the pontificate of Sixtus IV. deserves, however, to be mentioned. When the chief shrine of Hercules—the *ara maxima* at the end of the *Circus Maximus*, not far from Sta. Maria in Cosmedin—was laid bare, the whole lower part was found practically uninjured. The bronze-gilt statue of the god was still there. All the memorial inscriptions relating to the sacrifices annually offered by the City Prætors were also in their place. The structure had therefore been spared by the German barbarians, and allowed to stand unharmed throughout the Middle Ages.[1]

Persistence of Classical Life in Rome after the Fall of the Empire

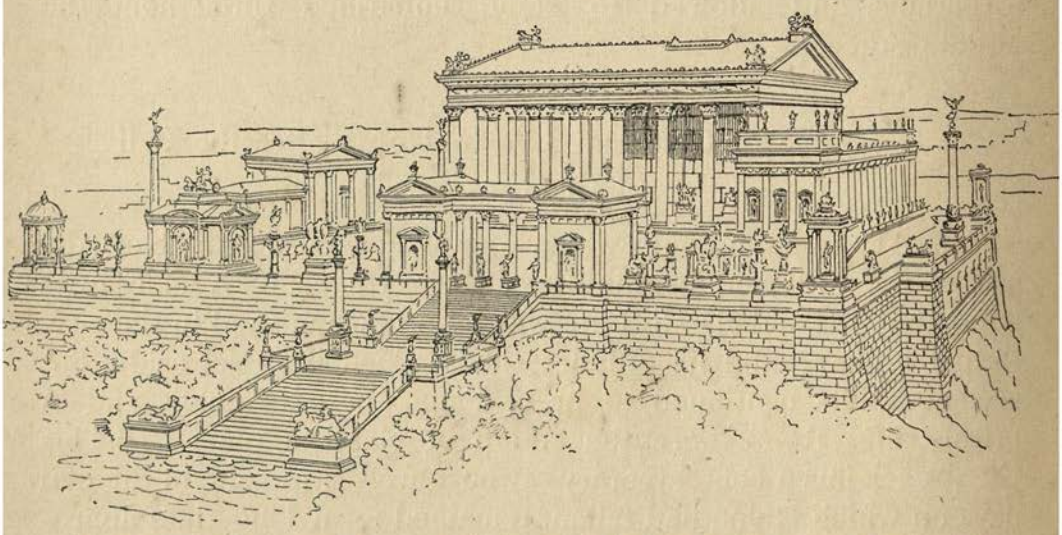
92. At the period with which we are now occupied, about the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century, many facts attest that the old classical life was by no means dead in the city. Actual idolatry and its adjuncts had indeed been set aside, but ancient habits continued to prevail, and, both in public and in private life, Rome bore the stamp of classical times. "This City," exclaims a contemporary—whose words, in spite of the evil days on which Rome had fallen, remained for a long time appropriate—"this City is the stronghold of Justice, the home of the Fine Arts, a palace of dignities. She is the summit of the whole world, and the motherland of Freedom [Freedom in its old Roman sense]; none are reckoned foreigners in this city but those who choose to remain barbarians, or whom slavery deprives of her benefits."[2]

These words are addressed to a noble Gaul of ancient lineage whom Sidonius is inviting to come to Rome and take service at the Roman Court, instead of remaining at home in his country-seat surrounded by barbarians. Let us suppose that he really

[1] DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1865, p. 8, and more in detail in his special article on the old *ara maxima* (*Annali dell' Istituto archeologico*, 1854, p. 28 ff.).
[2] SIDONIUS, I, *Ep.*, 6, *ad Eutropium* (*P. L.*, LVIII., 455; LUETJOHANN, p. 9).

started off with his Gallic or Germanic retinue, and that the visitors were totally unacquainted with Roman life and manners. What a contrast this city and its inhabitants would furnish to their surroundings at home! In what follows we shall give a few details such as may be found in abundance in the writers of the period. Let the reader regard them as they would have been regarded by those travellers to whom classical life was something absolutely novel. It may even be new to some people of our own day to find how pertinaciously certain customs of early times had remained rooted at Rome, whilst elsewhere the whole aspect of the world had been transformed.

93. Beginning with that focus of the life of ancient Rome, we find that the Thermæ are still thronged. Attendance at the bath



Ill. 23.—The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus at the Time of its Splendour.
An attempt at reconstruction.[1]

constitutes a regular feature of social life, though well-conducted Christians do not frequent all the baths indiscriminately. We know, for instance, that Consentius, a friend of Sidonius, was wont to visit those only where privacy protects Christian modesty. These he p efers to the Thermæ which "Nero and Agrippa bestowed upon the City, and which the Emperor, whose bust adorns Salona (Diocletian), bequeathed to the citizens."[2]

[1] Drawing by the painter Marola after Reber's sketch for the panorama of Rome under Constantine (1888). In many respects the construction since made by Paul Aucler, S.J., in his work, *Rome, restauration archéologique* (Paris, 1899), approaches more closely to the truth. The present figure is, however, sufficiently accurate for our purpose.

[2] *Carmen*, 23, *ad Consentium*, v. 495 ff. (*P. L.*, LVIII., 744; Luetjohann, 261).

These vast Imperial baths were therefore still used by the Romans for refreshment and conversation.

With reference to the Circus games, we learn that the four racing colours—white, blue, green, and red—still excited the populace as much as the ancient combats. The thousands interested in these sports were divided into camps, according to the party they supported.[1]

The brilliant festivities of the Circus were still often interrupted by the clamour of the people for bread. If from the earliest days the interior of the Amphitheatre and Circus had been classic ground for that classic cry, it now rang out more and more strongly as privation became keener in the oft-besieged and sacked city of Rome.[2]

It was still, as of yore, the business of the Prefect of the *Annona* and of the City Prefect to supply the city with food. King Theodoric, after making an end of Odovacar's power, assumed, according to ancient custom, this responsibility. Belonging to Theodoric's reign we have a very detailed, in fact, almost diffuse, edict re-establishing the *praefectus annonae* of ancient times for the period of the Gothic domination. The decree informs the Prefect that he must be diligent in meeting the necessities of the "most holy city" (*sacratissima urbs*). It carefully explains for his benefit, that, though Ceres discovered corn, it was Pan who first made it into bread, whence the Latin word *panis*. This verbose document, like many others issued by the Gothic Government, was drafted by the learned classical scholar Cassiodorus.[3]

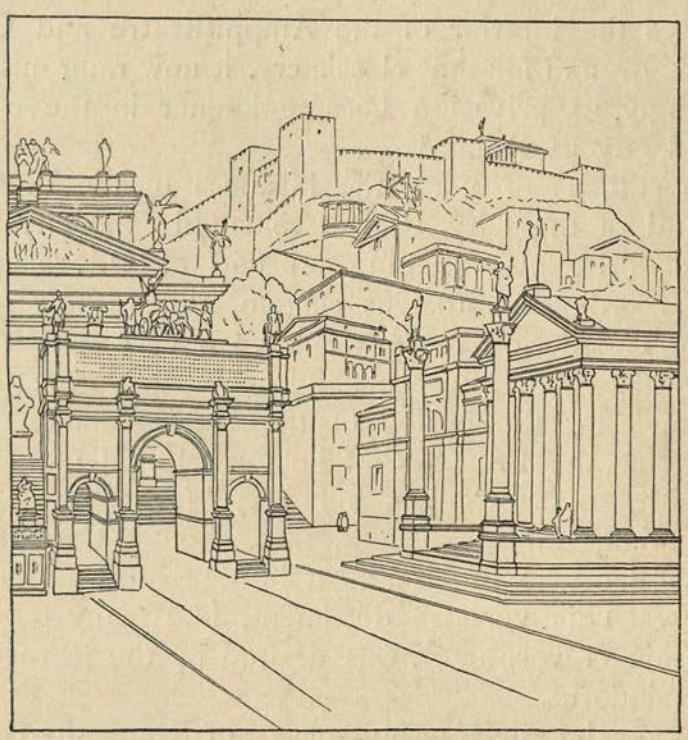
94. Among the ancient show-places of Rome, the Capitol, and the *Forum Romanum* would attract a stranger as forcibly as the Circus delighted the Romans. Public life was still carried on there as of old; there we might see ambassadors from distant climes, high officers of State, and merchants with costly foreign wares. "To ascend the heights of the Capitol," writes Cassiodorus, "is to grasp how human genius can outdo itself," and when he said this the Temple of Jupiter, the chief glory of the

[1] Ibid., v. 325 ff. (*P. L.*, LVIII., 739; LUETJOHANN, 257): ". . . *micant colores*| *Albus vel venetus, virens rubensque.*"

[2] SIDONIUS (I, *Ep.*, 10, *ad Campanianum. P. L.*, LVIII., 465; LUETJOHANN, 16) says, when speaking of his period: "*Vereor ne famem populi romani theatralis caveae fragor insonet.*"

[3] *Variar.*, 6, No. 18 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 698).

mons capitolinus, had already been unmercifully damaged by the Vandals. Though the golden roof was wanting to this building, yet his words prove that as yet there were no ruins on the hill of the Capitol. Within the precincts of the Capitoline Temple business was still actively transacted. Itinerant merchants displayed their stuffs for sale; rich trinkets and jewels from afar flashed in the sun; and there, too, Sidonius saw the richly carved tables of the money-changers (*trapezitae*) with their golden burden.



Ill. 24.—THE CAPITOL, WITH THE ARCH OF SEVERUS.
Reconstruction after Hülsen.

How loftily the ancient citadel of the Capitol (*arx*) must have looked down upon all this traffic.[1]

Sidonius also gives us an interesting description of a judicial session held by the Senate in its ancient Hall of Assembly, or *Curia*, close by the Capitol. All is carried on with classic solemnity, the sacrifices to the gods being the only item omitted.[2]

[1] *Variar.*, 7, No. 6 (*P. L.*, LXIX., 712): "*Capitolia celsa conscendere hoc est humana ingenia superata vidisse.*" SIDONIUS, 1, *Ep.*, 7, *ad Vincentium* (*P. L.*, LVIII., 459; LUETJOHANN, 11).

[2] Ibid. The letter contains a lively and instructive account of the proceedings against Arvandus, the former *praefectus praetorio* of Gaul.

The Senate, as the most venerable corporation of the Empire, continued to issue its decrees in the old style. As of old they were engraved on marble, Roman custom insisting on this solemn, monumental mode of promulgation. An incidental allusion of Sidonius stands to remind us that, even in his time, public documents of permanent importance (graven on stone or metal) were published either at the Capitol or the ancient *rostra*.[1]

During the fourth century, and probably even later, the edicts of the City Prefect were usually placed on marble tablets in the *porticus thermarum traianarum*. This was a hall close to his official offices, between the Temple of Tellus and the Baths (Thermæ) of Titus and Trajan, near the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. The buildings of the Prefecture can still be traced with tolerable certainty, and a good many of the inscriptions have also been recovered.[2]

On the other hand, an edict concerning the clergy, engraved on marble, was put up by the Gothic King Athalaric in the Atrium of St. Peter's near the Vatican and at other churches.[3]

95. From the sparse notices of contemporaries we can cull some details concerning the manner of life of the rich and stately senators in their luxurious palaces. Draped in flowing mantle, edged with crimson or purple stripes (*trabeae*), they recline upon curule chairs, inlaid with ivory, surrounded by the images of their ancestors. The walls of their halls are decorated with pompous inscriptions (*fasti*), in colours and gold, setting forth their titles and achievements. Nor may they show themselves abroad save in costly and richly decorated litters.[4]

Citizens of note joined in all the festivities of the Imperial Court. The official *epithalamium*, or nuptial ode, to the reigning Emperor on the occasion of his marriage, was an important detail of the ceremony. When Ricimer married the Emperor's daughter, ancient hymeneal songs were to be heard on all sides. "The

[1] SIDONIUS, I, *Ep.*, II, *ad Montium* (*P. L.*, LVIII., 466; LUETJOHANN, 17): "*dignum poema, quod perennandum apicibus auratis iuste tabula rostralis acciperet aut etiam capitolina.*"

[2] LANCIANI, *Gli edifizii della prefettura urbana*, in *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1892, p. 22 ff.

[3] MOMMSEN, *Neues Archiv*, 10 (1885), 582. The edict quoted on page 126, note 1, addressed to the millers, was found on the Janiculus near the mills driven by Trajan's Aqueduct (the Acqua Paolina), and also in other public places. The place chosen for public notices must therefore have depended on the subject of the edicts. The Pope had regulations of a general nature posted on all the titular churches (*per omnes propositum est titulos.* MOMMSEN, ibid., p. 583).

[4] Cp. SIDONIUS, 8, *Ep.*, 8; 1, *Ep.*, 6, *P.L.*, LVIII., 600, 455.

talassio fescennius," says an eye-witness, "re-echoed through the Theatres, Market-places, Prætorium, Forums, Temples, and Gymnasia."[1]

96. The streets are still gay with the varied costumes of antiquity, magistrates and grandees, especially, holding firmly to the traditional fashions, though the great influx of foreigners, and especially intercourse with Byzantines and Germans, have already somewhat modified the ordinary dress. The *tunica talaris* and *manicata, i.e.* with sleeves, or even the *dalmatica* are everywhere in use by both men and women. The *toga*, formerly worn over it by men, and the analogous *stola*, worn by women, has been replaced among the lower orders by the *planeta* or *paenula*. On the accompanying relievo from the Arch of Constantine (Ill. 25)[2] we may see this *planeta*, from which was derived the ecclesiastical chasuble. The five common people appearing right and left on each side are clad in it, likewise the two candle-bearers. The others all wear the folded toga (*toga contabulata, cp.* Ill. 27). Matrons still dress in the ancient *palla* (a sort of pallium) which often covered the head, as is the case with the two figures in the mosaic at St. Sabina's (Ill. 26). On official occasions the senators appeared in a specially rich toga, and this classic garment remained the usual dress at Court, unless people of very high rank preferred to wear the *chlamys*, a garb of which the character was military rather than civil.[3]

[1] SIDONIUS, 1, *Ep.*, 5, *ad Heronium* (*P. L.*, LVIII., 455; LUETJOHANN, p. 8). For details of official participation in Imperial Court functions, see MOMMSEN, *Staatsrecht*, 2, 2, 812.

[2] New photograph. Cp. WILPERT, *Un capitolo di storia del vestiario*, in the magazine *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 91. On the imperial bounty (*liberalitas Augusti*), see THÉDENAT in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. des antiquités*, art. *Congiarium*, and SWOBODA in the *Mittheil. d. österr. Centralcomm. N.F.*, xvi. (1890), p. 11. At the emperor's feet stand on either side three noblemen (*togati*), of whom the first to the left has just received his money, which he holds in the turned-up corner (*sinus*) of his toga. The emperor is bestowing twelve coins, which appear to be fixed on a tablet in four rows of three each. The four courtiers in the upper portion of the picture are also clad in the toga. The populace, habited in their *paenulae* and standing to the right and left, receive their portion—*i.e.*, six coins, also on a tablet—from the officials standing above, the bounty being bestowed by a *paenulatus* under the direction of *togati*. The emperor's head is missing. His head is also wanting wherever he elsewhere appears on the Arch, though the figures in his neighbourhood are perfect. WILPERT (p. 118) rightly suspects that this *capitis diminutio* was committed during some pagan revival at Rome. Cp. Ill. 48.

[3] Cp. MARQUARDT, *Privatleben der Römer*, 2 ed., 2, 551 ff. Alb. MÜLLER in BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, art. *Toga*, p. 1822–1846; WILPERT, *Die Gewandung der Christen in den ersten Jahrh.* (1898) and *Un capitolo di storia del vestiario* (*L'Arte*, 1898 f., on the *toga contabulata*), and the same author's *Die Gemälde der römischen Katakomben* (1903). St. Augustine (*De doctr. christ.*, 3, c. 12, p. 20) mentions the *talares et manicatae tunicae*. The *paenula* of officials, *Cod. Theodos.*, XIV., 10, 1. The *chlamys* (a purple and gold-embroidered upper robe) is spoken of

Ill. 25.—Scenes of the Distribution of the Imperial Bounty. From the Arch of Constantine, showing the Dress of the Officials and Populace under the late Empire.

A bordered toga was the distinctive dress of the City Prefect. According to Cassiodorus, this is the *vestis Romulea*, by which the Prefect sums up in himself all that is Roman. Consuls wore the *toga picta*. We may see them thus portrayed upon their ivory diptychs (*cp.* Ill. 27). It was yet in use at the time of Cassiodorus. The ancient robe of the "triumphator" still decked the Consul with its rich drapery. The Consul also received the staff surmounted by an eagle or a cross (*victorialis scipio*); when per-

Ill. 26.—The Two Matrons on the Mosaic at Sta. Sabina.[1]

forming his duties he was also shod in gold-embroidered shoes. He sat in a curule chair, on a high dais (*tensa*). As in past ages, he was preceded by lictors with their *fasces*.[2]

by Sidonius, in his interesting account of scenes at the table of the Emperor Majorian, I, *Ep.*, II (*P. L.*, LVIII., 472; Luetjohann, p. 18 ff.). Cp. *Cod. Theodos.*, I., 15, 16. The *mitra matronalis* of the mother of Gregory I., on a portrait described by John the Deacon (*Vita S. Gregorii*, 4, c. 83).

[1] Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte*, tav. 210. The figure to the left in the mosaic bears the inscription: ECLESIA EX CIRCVMCISIONE; that to the left: ECLESIA EX GENTIBVS.

[2] On the *toga* of the City Prefect, Cassiodor., *Var.*, 6, 4: "*habitu te togatae dignitatis ornamus, ut indutus veste romulea iura debeas affectare romana.*" Gregory of Tours writes with reference to the high civic rank of Gregory I.: "*serico contextus ac gemmis micantibus solitus erat per urbem procedere trabeatus.*" *Hist. Franc.*, X., c. 1. The consular *toga*, in fact the *toga* generally, had greatly changed in appearance during late Imperial times, through being doubled (*contabulatio*). Cp. Wilpert, *Un capitolo di storia del vestiario*, in *L'Arte*, 1898, pp. 98–120. For consular insignia, see also Cassiodor. (*Var.*, 6, 1): *formula consulatus.* Cp. *Var.*, 3, 5; 6, 20; and *Cod. Theodos.*, IX., 26, 4 (*consularitatis fasces*).

97. To these sketches of public and private life we may add a few words on the fortunes of the whilom all-powerful consular dignity. Its fate aptly expresses the fate of Rome. In the fifth century consuls had already lost most of their importance. It is, nevertheless, always mentioned as an event of great consequence, that at the circus games they started the chariot-races by throwing down the traditional kerchief (*mappa*). They are even shown on the diptychs with the *mappa* in their hand—a precious testimony to the decay of their office. The last *consul ordinarius* nominated in the Roman Empire was Flavius Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius in the year 541. To avoid the long string of names (another instance of the bad taste of the time) he is usually referred to as Flavius Basilius Junior. The year in question was dated by the name of Basilius Junior, according to the ancient custom of reckoning by consulships. The subsequent years, from 542 to 565, are, however, followed by the formula: "after the consulship of Basilius," there being no longer any "ordinary Consul." The only Consul is now the *consul perpetuus*, and he is always the reigning Emperor of Eastern Rome. His deeds bear the year both of his reign and of his consulship.[1] The maintenance, however, of the external form of the Roman consulship, even in Byzantium, proves the respect and veneration with which the very name of the Eternal City of Rome was cherished. The belief in Rome, as Queen of the Universe, was too deeply rooted to be set aside at once.

In conclusion, let us listen to two voices, both of which set forth the general impression produced by Rome in the fifth and sixth centuries; one, that of a pagan poet, the other, that of a saintly Christian.

98. **Claudius Rutilius**, the heathen City Prefect of the year 417, quitted Rome to return to his home in Gaul. This representative of northern feeling had experienced the same vivid impressions on being brought into contact with the city as so many other visitors from the dominions of the new nations. In his poem on the return journey he expresses his feelings with all the glowing imagery of Paganism. From the ship his glance travels up the Tiber to the city, and, deeply moved by the last sight of her gorgeous beauty, he addresses her in passionate farewell: "Hear me, O Roma, thou loveliest queen of the world,

[1] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. urbis Romae*, 1, 612.

Ill. 27.—Consular Diptych at the Museo Barberini in Rome. Fragment.

(New Photograph.)

thou who sittest enthroned among the constellations of Heaven! Hear me, O mother of men, O mother of the gods, whose temples tower towards the skies!" And he then breaks forth into a rhetorical prayer to the goddess Roma, as well as to Mars and Venus, from whom he traces her descent.[1]

Rome's beauty presented itself under a different aspect to the noble and gifted soul of the African **Fulgentius of Ruspe.** He had previously been a high functionary in the Vandal kingdom, and in 500 found himself for the first time on Roman soil. Beneath the humble garb he had voluntarily assumed he retained a heart in sympathy with all that was grand and beautiful. This is proved by his writings when he had become Bishop of Ruspe and a much respected Father of the Church. On his visit to the Eternal City he sought out all it contained of interest, though with a special predilection for its religious memories and monuments; nor did he neglect the silent palaces, where high senatorial families with whom he was acquainted, and who shared his views, led the life of monks.

Together with the African monks who accompanied him, he joined the crowd assembled in the Forum for some great civic festival. With pensive admiration he gazed at the magnificent buildings—the basilicas, temples, triumphal arches, and memorials of mighty deeds with which this site abounded, and then on the gorgeous spectacle of the pageant. As the old contemporary biography of the saint observes, his thoughts rose above the vain pomp of earthly show. Turning to his companions he cried: "If earthly Rome glows before us in such splendour, what must be the beauty of the heavenly Jerusalem? And if mortals are surrounded with so much grace and dignity, what glories must await in their heavenly homes the elect; those who have despised the fleeting glamour of this world for the sake of Christ and of His brethren?"[2]

[1] CLAUDII RUTILII NAMATIANI, *De reditu suo*, lib. I, v. 47 ff., ed. Luc. MÜLLER (1870), p. 2.

[2] In the *Vita Fulgentii*, c. 13, No. 27 (*P. L.*, LXV., 130), this passage begins with the words: "*Quam speciosa potest esse Hierusalem coelestis, si sic fulget Roma terrestris!*"

CHAPTER V

OUTWARD CHANGES IN ROME. A RETROSPECT ON THE CITY UNDER THE EMPIRE

99. THE history of Rome in the Middle Ages must, on the one hand, deal with Rome as a city, and from this point of view must inform us of its outward development, its general aspect, and its local fortunes at various epochs; on the other hand, it must not neglect the world-wide civilising influence of Rome, due to its position at the head of the Christian hierarchy. These two elements are related to one another almost as body and soul.

The universal element gives moral life to the local, besides true historical interest. Since all great events of ancient and Christian times were felt in Rome, and there left their mark, its topography is historically important, for it shows the field of Rome's ecclesiastical and spiritual activity.

Before dealing with the early history of the Roman hierarchy, we must therefore give the reader a clearer picture of both the ancient and classical city, and of the ecclesiastical city as it existed at the collapse of the old Western Empire. Mediæval Rome can be neither understood nor appreciated apart from ancient Rome, out of which it grew. Hence it is quite necessary to consider in detail the state of the city prior to 476. Yet, since the early Christian monuments, as it were of their own accord, took up their place in the ancient framework, a curious picture of concomitant growth and decay is the result. This may be most justly described as the transformation of Pagan Imperial Rome into the Christian, and, ultimately, the papal city. This chapter is therefore essential to a history of that transformation of the heathen world into a Christian world, of that transition from the classic into the mediæval, which we have to study in connection with Rome and the Papacy.

To begin with, we are confronted by the question: In what way, and to what extent, can we know anything of the topography of ancient Rome? In other words, what are our sources of infor-

mation, and how far can they serve to direct us at the present day? Many readers, unacquainted with such studies, may be surprised to learn from the details about to be quoted (from general descriptions we shall abstain of set purpose) how uncommonly exact and rich in information, in spite of all that has been lost, are the sources which still exist, and with what success recent scholarship has turned them to account.

Traces of Rome's Transformation Found in the Earliest Plans and Descriptions

100. Unhappily, the most important authority for early Roman topography is no longer available. This would have been the Severian marble plan of the city. Had the famous *Forma urbis* of the second and third centuries after Christ come down to us intact, we should have before our eyes an exact reflection of ancient Rome.

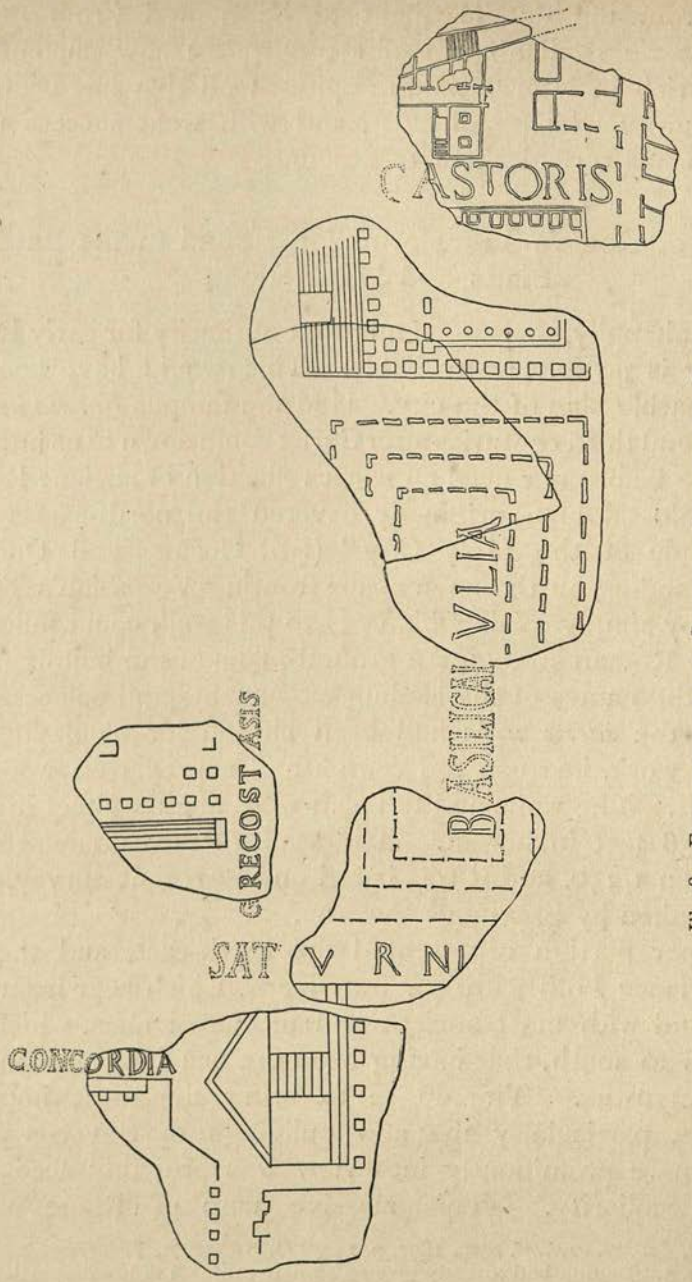
This colossal plan originally covered the north-east wall of the "Temple of the Holy City" (SS. Cosmas and Damian). Any one standing on the open space fronting Vespasian's Temple of Peace, by simply raising his eyes to this wall, could follow the lines of the Roman streets, the ground-plans of the buildings, and even read the names of the leading monuments and palaces. The temple of the *sacra urbs* had been chosen for displaying this marvellous work, because the census and survey rolls were preserved in it. The walls and the plan were about 65 feet in width and over 58 feet in height. The scale of measurement seems to have been 1/250, and it was based on the recent survey of the city undertaken by Septimius Severus.[1]

Its upper portion represented the north-east, and therefore was at variance both with our own maps, which bear from south to north, and with most ancient and mediæval ones, which bear from north to south, that having been the usual custom since the time of Augustus. The desire to bring the most important monuments, particularly the new buildings of Severus on the Palatine, more prominently into view was probably accountable for the peculiarity.[2] This massive map of Rome outlived

[1] HÜLSEN, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1893, p. 130. O. RICHTER, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (1889), p. 3. Canina had already given a similar estimate of the proportions.

[2] ELTER, *De forma urbis Romae deque orbis antiqui facie.* Diss., 1 and 2. Bonn, 1891. O. RICHTER, *Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen*, 1892, p. 153, and in *Topographie*, p. 3. The north-easterly direction of the Severian city plan had been already pointed out by HÜLSEN, *Mittheilungen des archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abtheilung*, 4 (1889), p. 79.

antiquity, but at some unknown period in the Middle Ages it



Ill. 28.—Fragments of the Severian Plan of the City.
Forum, Basilica Iulia, Grecostasis, (Templum) Castoris.

was destroyed. Perhaps an earthquake dislodged the slabs, or they gradually broke away of themselves and were dashed to

pieces on the pavement of the *Forum Pacis*.[1] They must then either have been covered over by later ruins or else carried away.

At a subsequent date great efforts were made to recover the precious fragments. The earliest known collection of these pieces (altogether 92) was discovered under Pius IV. (1559–1565), having been dug out at the foot of the wall. They were copied and soon were made a matter of study. In 1742 all the pieces then extant were attached to the wall of the staircase in the Capitoline Museum, those missing being restored from early copies. On the stairs, even to-day, they arrest the attention of visitors to the Museum. Quite recently (1867, 1882, 1884, 1888) new, though less important, fragments have been found, not only in the neighbourhood of the ancient site of the plan, but at various points in the city, to which they had been carried off. Some two hundred little pieces were found in 1888 in the masonry of an old wall near the Tiber, to the rear of the Farnese Palace.[2]

In 1890 the ground below the old temple wall was once more most diligently searched, in the hope of finding further remains of this invaluable topographical source. Though the excavators, at great expense, pushed down as far as the pavement of the ancient courtyard, lying more than twenty feet below the level of the present convent garden of SS. Cosmas and Damian, only a few unimportant fragments of the expected treasure were brought to light.[3]

In 1899 other fragments—including one with the inscription, LVDVS MAGNVS—were found under the Farnese Palace. The fragments have now been assigned a place in the Museum courtyard, and, as far as possible, arranged in the original order.

Maybe some lucky accident will result in fresh finds elsewhere. On the wall itself traces of the marble slabs, and of the iron clamps with which they were secured, are still discernible.[4]

[1] Ill. 28, from BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, iii. 1461. The orientation of this plan is the exact reverse of that followed by moderns; this is the reason why the Temple of Castor appears to the right. The position of the other two fragments is problematical.

[2] *Cod. vat.*, 3439, contains a copy of the pieces found under Pius IV. Those fragments, which are only known through these drawings, are at the Capitoline Museum, marked with an asterisk. For the discoveries in 1888, see *Notizie degli scavi*, 1888, pp. 391, 437, 569.

[3] *Notizie degli scavi*, 1891, p. 124.

[4] An interesting illustration of the wall, in which are indicated the known sizes of the ancient marble slabs, can be seen in JORDAN, *Forma urbis Romae regionum XIV.* (Berol., 1874), Pl. 35.

Study of the fragments of the *Forma urbis* has already materially aided the cause of Roman topography, particularly since their publication and arrangement by Heinrich Jordan. He set himself to work to piece together the enigmatic splinters, and to determine their respective positions (Ill. 28), a problem which still affords plentiful scope to both intelligence and luck.

101. We possess, however, written sources which are in many ways even more useful as guides to the ancient city. Classical authors frequently contain topographical details, though they are mostly mere casual allusions. Recently these texts have been gone over afresh, and, by the light of modern excavations, obscure references, which had hitherto puzzled the keenest philologists and archæologists, have become perfectly clear. The services rendered in this respect by Giovanni Battista de Rossi, Christian Hülsen, Rodolfo Lanciani, and others will ever be gratefully remembered.

Among written sources we do not include the once esteemed writings of Publius Victor and of Sextus Rufus, for these supposed ancient works have long since been proved to be forgeries. The books fathered on these authors are merely arbitrary amplifications of one of the best genuine early documents which we possess relating to the topography of the old city.[1]

The document alluded to is the Constantinian Register of the districts, called the **Regionary survey,** of the fourth century. It bears the name of the first Christian Emperor, and gives a list of the fourteen urban regions into which Augustus had divided the city, with a short notice of the monuments, buildings, and streets contained in each. The document affords information concerning both the boundaries and contents of each district. It can be shown to be based on a plan of the city drafted in the days of Constantine, copies of which must have been attached to the description in the MSS. This chart has unfortunately been lost. Neither do the extant MSS. contain the original catalogue, but only compendiums or revisions made shortly after Constantine. The older is known as the "Notitia." It dates from the year 334, and forms part of the so-called Philocalian Chronicle of the city and State of Rome. The later revision bears the title,

[1] De Rossi, *Note di topografia romana*, in *Studi e documenti*, 1882, p. 49. To Emiliano Sarti of Rome is due the credit of having demonstrated the forgery. Bunsen speaks of a work on the subject, which was being planned by that same distinguished scholar (*Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1, 173 ff.). Cp. Richter, *Topographie*, 5, 6.

"Curiosum of the Fourteen Regions of Rome." It was written about the year 357, or a little later. In the "Curiosum" the Constantinian Catalogue, on which both documents rely, is more faithfully reproduced than in the "Notitia." Both the "Notitia" and the "Curiosum" have, however, also drawn on much older lists, some of which must date back to the first century.[1]

The "Notitia" and the "Curiosum" have each two statistical supplements in which the monuments are classified according to their character. The second appendix, the more summary of the two, bears in the MSS. the title of "Breviarium." The two redactions agree in one respect—they mention no Christian places of worship, confining their notice to classical edifices. We may therefore assume that also in their model, the Constantinian Catalogue, no mention was made of the churches of the city. Some idea of this famous "Regionary survey" may be formed from the following extract referring to the eighth city region. The monumental structures in this most important of all regions are dwelt upon at some length, the two redactions being, moreover, in comparative agreement. "The eighth district," we read, "known as the Roman, or Great Forum, contains the three Rostra, the Genius of the Roman People (a statue), the Senate (*i.e.* the Hall of the Curia), the Atrium of Minerva, the Forums of Cæsar, of Augustus, of Nerva, and of Trajan, Trajan's Temple, and his hollow spiral column, 127 feet in height, ascended within by 180 steps, and pierced by 45 lights; it further contains the sixth cohort of guards (*i.e.* their barracks), the *Basilica argentaria*, the Temple of Concordia, the Temple of Saturn, and that of Vespasian and Titus, the Capitol, the golden milestone, the *Vicus iugarius*, the Græcostadium, the *Basilica Iulia*, the Temple of the Castors, Vesta, the *Horrea agrippiana*, the fountain with the four fishes under it, the Atrium of Cacus, the *Porticus margaritaria*, the *Elephas herbarius*. This region comprises 34 *vici* (*i.e.* quarters, into which each region was subdivided), 34 *aediculae* (small temples of the *Lares compitales*, corresponding in number to the quarters of each district), 48 *vicomagistri*, 2 *curatores*, 3480 *insulae* (*i.e.* tenement houses for people of limited means), 130 *domus* (mansions), 18 *horrea*, 85 *balinea* (baths, *balnea*), 120 *lacus*

[1] JORDAN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* (1871–1878), 2, 1 ff. PRELLER, *Die Regionen der Stadt Rom* (1846). RICHTER, 3 ff., 186 ff. (with a good reproduction).

(fountains with basins), 20 *pistrina* (public bakeries in connection with the annona). The district covers 13,067 ft."[1]

In such wise, tersely and authentically, does the Constantinian Chronicle impart its information. In the study of Roman topography, it is this document which has the first claim on our consideration.

102. The fifth century supplies a similar compilation, of much smaller size and entirely dependent on Constantine's Catalogue. This is the *Laterculus* or *Calendarium* of **Polemius Silvius,** dating from 449, and entitled: "What there is at Rome" (*quae sint Romae*). The author, probably a cleric, passes over the names of heathen temples in utter silence. As for the places of Christian worship at Rome, though he mentions no churches by name, he at least remarks generally there are there "religious edifices, with innumerable hallowed crypts of the martyrs." From this we gather that the "Laterculus" was as yet unable to break away from the customary form of ancient official lists.[2]

The sixth-century compilation of **Zacharias of Mitylene** is simply a repetition of the above-mentioned "Breviaria," with some trifling additions. Zacharias, Bishop of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos, incorporated the Breviaria in his Greek Church History, which has come down to us in a Syriac version. The little that he adds to what was previously known is of a legendary character, and forms the starting-point for all the legendary literature regarding Rome which we come across in the mediæval **Mirabilia urbis Romae.** Concerning the topography of the earliest churches nothing can be gleaned from Zacharias. It is noteworthy that the author, in the midst of his trite statements, cannot suppress a passionate lament over the fate of the city, ravaged by barbarian hordes, though he goes on to express his hope that Rome will rise again in fresh and even greater glory, the city being the honour of the entire Roman Empire.[3]

[1] In Richter's text, p. 187, the additions of the "Notitia" are given in brackets: *Genium populi romani* (*aureum et equum Constantini*). . . . *Templum Concordiae* (*umbilicum Romae*). . . . *Vicum iugarium* (*et unguentarium*). . . . *Horrea* (*germaniciana et*) *agrippiana.* According to the "Notitia," Trajan's spiral column had 185 steps.

[2] *Laterculus Polemii Silvii,* ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq., Chron. minora,* t. 1), p. 545.

[3] Ign. GUIDI, *Il testo siriaco della descrizione di Roma nella storia attribuita a Zaccaria* (*Bullett. archeol. com.,* 1884, p. 218), according to the *Codex vat. syr.,* 145. Guidi discusses (ibid., 1891, p. 61) a new MS. of the Syriac text found in a copy of the Church History of Michael I. († 1199), which is now in the possession of Mgr. Rahmani, Syrian Bishop of Bagdad. See J. B. CHABOT'S edition of the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (Paris, 1899 ff.). The earlier editions by Cardinal Mai (*Scriptt. vet.,* 10

For the origin and number of Christian places of worship we are thrown back upon the notices of new ecclesiastical buildings in the famous *Liber pontificalis*, where, however, the catalogue is by no means complete, on the lists of churches appearing among the signatures of certain Roman councils, and on scattered notices, among which the **Itineraries** of early Roman pilgrims are both interesting and instructive.

103. The Itineraries form a literature apart. From very early times, lists of the curiosities and sacred sites of Rome, with topographical and historical remarks, had been compiled for the use of the numerous visitors to the city. The Itineraries which have come down to us deal especially with the Catacombs and with the inscriptions. All these have been put together by de Rossi in the first volume of his work upon *Roma Sotterranea*, and in the second volume of his *Inscriptiones*. Among these Itineraries that of the greatest importance for the churches inside the city was published by Eckart in 1729, and again by de Rossi after two Salzburg manuscripts now preserved at Vienna. Its title runs: "On the Holy Places of the Martyrs." In an appendix a list is given of the so-called Station-Basilicas of Rome, *i.e.* of those churches where the population was wont to assemble for the liturgical functions of the "Stations." This little book, carried home by a German pilgrim, dates from the pontificate of Honorius I. (625–638). It seems, however, to have been compiled from an earlier similar guide, drawn up not later than the time of Pelagius II. (579–590).[1]

Incomparably fuller information about the city is to hand in the so-called **Einsiedeln Itinerary**, for this also deals with its secular aspect. It belongs to the second half of the eighth century. This handy guide-book of an unknown author, which names the places and monuments in the order they are met with, brings Rome before us just as it existed long before the time of

Praef., p. xiii), and of others down to Jordan (*Topographie*, 2, 575), cannot any longer be considered quite accurate. Zacharias gives the number of "Catholic churches" in Rome as twenty-four, "not including the churches of the Holy Apostles." But his figures have frequently been altered by copyists.

[1] De Rossi gives the Itineraries in *Roma sott.*, I., 138 ff., 176 ff. The one concerning *De locis sanctis martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae* appears in ECKART, *Commentar. de rebus Francor. oriental.*, 1, 831 (in DE ROSSI, l.c., p. 138), after the two MSS., No. 1008 and No. 793 of the Vienna Imperial Library. Twenty-one basilicas are enumerated in the final chapter of the Itinerary under the heading, *Istae vero ecclesiae intus Romae habentur*, and five further blank spaces also represent basilicas. Some important historical remarks accompany the names of some of the twenty-one basilicas.

the writer, even in the days of its transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Its topographical indications are also relatively accurate and clear. The guide follows several routes, usually proceeding from one city gate to another. He distinguishes carefully the right from the left hand side of the road, and mentions the classical or ecclesiastical buildings which are seen on the way either in the distance or close at hand. It is characteristic that he has scarce a word to say of the former heathen temples. The booklet, or rather roll—for it consisted in a rolled strip of parchment, to be gradually unfolded as the pilgrim progressed—must also have been accompanied by a map or plan of the city; at any rate, it seems as though the names mentioned were taken from such a plan, according to the order in which they are arranged.[1]

Recent excavations have more than ever established the great services which this Itinerary has rendered for the determination of the main arteries of Imperial Rome through which the pilgrims rambled. It has become clear that the former main thoroughfares of Rome were still in use in the days of the Einsiedeln guide, *i.e.* at the time of Charles the Great. Even as regards its principal monuments, Rome's aspect had not greatly changed as late as the eighth century. The city map on which the guide was based must also have tallied with that of the Constantinian regionary survey, the lost plan of the city being probably nothing else than a new edition brought up to date of the Constantinian survey.[2]

The next three centuries furnish us with no topographical notices worth naming. After this period of silence we come

[1] LANCIANI, *l' Itinerario di Einsiedeln e l' ordine di Benedetto canonico*, in *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della r. accademia dei Lincei*, I (anno 1891), punt. 3, p. 438 ff. This excellent publication gives the text with topographical explanations. For the earlier editions and literature connected with the Einsiedeln Itinerary, see LANCIANI, l.c., p. 438; RICHTER, 8, 9; *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., ix. ff. It was first published by Mabillon in 1685 in his *Analecta*, iv. The ninth or tenth century MS. (*Cod. Einsiedlen.*, No. 326) once belonged to the monastery of Pfäfers in Switzerland, but seems to have come originally from the monastery of Reichenau. For the important collection of Roman inscriptions bound up with it, see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 9 ff. (where there is a fresh edition of this *Sylloge Einsiedlensis*), and GRISAR, *Analecta romana*, 1, 133, diss. 3: *Iscrizioni di Roma*, No. 7, 5. For a specimen of the list of places in the Einsiedeln Itinerary, see below, p. 244.

[2] LANCIANI, l.c., p. 445: "Il documento einsiedlense giova mirabilmente per risalire dal secolo VIII. ai buoni tempi dell' impero, e per riconoscere nelle vie battute dai pellegrini d' oltremonte quelle stesse con le quali le memorie dei classici ci hanno reso famigliari. In altri termini, il documento è la pianta di Roma più antica, dopo quella che ha servito alla compilazione dei cataloghi (costantiniani); anzi io la credo un' edizione riveduta e aggiornata di quella stessa."

across a sort of Itinerary of the streets of Rome in the *Ordo Romanus* of **Benedictus Canonicus,** belonging to the twelfth century. It is a tolerably exact programme of the processions. But by that time a great change had taken place in the topography of Rome. The ancient city was already in so ruinous a condition that many of the old thoroughfares had become impassable. Some had probably quite disappeared, and had been replaced by new ones, often running in entirely different directions.[1] Quite recently the authorship of the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, a guide for the use of foreigners, containing a few valuable details amidst great wealth of legend and historical falsehood, has been ascribed to Benedictus.

104. The first plan of the city of Rome which has come down to us belongs to a date not much later than that of Benedictus Canonicus; that is, if we may call the drawing in question a plan, since, to tell the truth, it is rather a view. It is contained in a thirteenth-century MS. of the Vatican Library. Recently a copy of this same "plan," dating from the fourteenth century, has been found in the Marciana at Venice.[2]

The fifteenth and the sixteenth century, with their enthusiastic devotion to the classical studies of antiquity, have bequeathed us a perfect mine of valuable materials for the better understanding of ancient Rome. We allude to the copies of inscriptions and the notices bearing upon old buildings then still extant in the city, but most of all to the wealth of architectural and artistic sketches which sculptors, painters, and architects collected for their work. A new era for topography has begun since these sketches in our own day have been arranged and rendered accessible to all. To this end most valuable assistance has been rendered in Italy by the libraries of Florence, Siena, Venice, and Rome, as well as abroad by those of Paris, Berlin, Stuttgart, Oxford, Windsor, and of the Escurial near Madrid.

All written sources are, however, little more than marginal

[1] For Benedictus Canonicus, see LANCIANI, l.c., p. 519. JORDAN, 2, 473, 664. Text of the *Ordo* in *P. L.*, LXXVIII., 1025 ff.; P. FABRE, *Le Polyptyche du chanoine Benoît* (*Travaux et Mém. des Fac. de Lille*, I., 1889, for its date); DUCHESNE, *L'auteur des Mirabilia*, in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* 24 (1904), p. 479. See the *Ordo* in *P.L.*, LXXVIII., 1025 ff. The above-mentioned topographical sources, as well as the so-called Publius Victor, have been tolerably collated by Urlichs in his *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Wirceburgi, 1871). The book, however, urgently requires re-editing, as many of the texts have meanwhile appeared in improved form.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma* (1879), Pl. I from the *Cod. vat.*, 1960. The second copy is in *Cod. marc. lat.*, 399 in fol.

notes to that book which the Rome of to-day, with all its remains of antiquity, unfolds before us. The city itself offers us its history fully and clearly immortalised in stone.

The Excavations

105. The excavations of the past century have revealed with growing certainty the topographical changes which have occurred in the course of Rome's history. During the past few decades such masses of detail connected with ancient Rome have been brought to light that the book which till now seemed so mysterious has furnished the key to its own secrets. As regards the greater part of the surface of ancient Rome, present-day topographical science is no longer forced to stumble about with no guide but some more or less obscure texts and a few discoveries, nor to be content with mere inferences and conjectures. The archæologist may now, so to speak, measure with his foot-rule monuments whose very existence was once questioned, and from the early pavement, itself laid bare, learn the course of the ancient city streets. Patient research of previous days bearing on the literary texts and inscriptions prepared the way for a more personal contact with Imperial Rome, which commenced in recent years, when scientific excavations began to be conducted side by side with the study of early texts.

Even under the Napoleonic Government important ancient structures had been brought to light, the first of them being the Roman Forum. The difficulties to be overcome were exceeding great, on account of the enormous accumulations of new soil. To give one instance: under the *Tabularium* of the Capitol earth and rubbish to a depth of more than thirty feet had to be removed to lay bare to their base—as we see them now—the three exquisite pillars which adorn the corners of Vespasian's Temple. From 1809 to 1814 efforts were directed to clearing the Coliseum, Constantine's great basilica, the Temples of Venus and Roma, and the Golden House of Nero below the Baths of Trajan. At the same time work was being carried on at the Forum Boarium. The rubbish was removed from the Arch of Janus Quadrifrons, from the Temple of Mater Matuta (popularly known as the Temple of Vesta), and to some extent from the Temple of *Fortuna virilis*. Preparations were also

made for the successful excavations at Trajan's Forum and the *Basilica Ulpia*.[1] When Pius VII. had regained possession of Rome, he actively prosecuted the work begun under French auspices, specially the excavations on Trajan's Forum. Succeeding Popes followed in his footsteps, so far as their means and the proprietary rights of others allowed.

Even during the agitated pontificate of Pius IX. excavators were not idle. The Palatine Hill, with the former Imperial residence, was then explored at the joint expense of the Papal Government and of the ambassadors of Napoleon III. At the same time the investigation of the Christian catacombs outside the walls, and the laying bare of the Pagan tombs which fringe the Appian Way, were vigorously proceeded with.

106. The newest stage in the history of Roman exploration, as we all know, was consequent on the occupation of the Seat of the Papacy by the Italian Government in 1870. Side by side with the lamentable moral revolution, a certain topographical rearrangement began in the new capital of the kingdom, which unfortunately threatens to put the stamp of modernity on the venerable features of the great Christian metropolis. We are not, however, concerned with either the moral or physical transformation of Rome, but merely with the great and scarcely expected archæological results which followed, and which, so far, have hardly received the attention they deserve.

During the period from 1872 to 1889 new streets were laid out, and broad stretches of land lying between the ruins and the vineyards (particularly on the hills) were handed over to the speculative builder. During the whole of this time, almost every day some priceless antiquarian treasure was dug out of the trenches. The author, whose privilege it was to sojourn repeatedly at Rome during those years among other enthusiastic archæologists, both Italian and foreign, still recalls with pleasure the general rejoicings; the excavations seemed to have brought us to the very soil of the Promised Land. It is regrettable that haste was responsible for the loss of many a relic of early, and particularly of mediæval Rome; but it must be acknowledged that Italian, Roman, German, French, and English antiquaries were, on the whole, allowed to work freely and advantageously—not

[1] For further information respecting the results secured by the French at Rome, cp. TOURNON, *Études statistiques sur Rome et les États romains*, 1831, an interesting book.

without a certain scientific and patriotic rivalry—at excavations leading at almost every step to discoveries. The finds having, most of them, been photographed, have been made available for future study.

Simultaneously the Italian Government, thinking it due to its reputation, undertook further systematic excavations of important early edifices, even where modern building operations did not call for them. The remains unearthed were, with some ostentation, placed under State protection, the results being published and discussed in the newly started official journals.[1]

In fact, it is not too much to say, if we wish to express our progress in a single sentence, that more has been learnt about Rome during the last few decades than during a century under the hindrances hitherto prevailing, and with merely philological instruments.

Of course, the Roman building fever was followed by the inevitable reaction. Since the financial crisis of 1889 not only have building operations gradually flagged, but even the Government has been forced to reduce its scientific investigations to very modest proportions. During this pause archæologists were, however, able to resume their studies, and this with great profit, as they were now free to revise and digest at leisure the vast amount of fresh material which had been acquired. Thus, for instance, Rodolfo Lanciani, a Roman who took a leading part in the excavations, is now publishing the great *Forma urbis Romae*, whilst the essays of Christian Hülsen and of the other members of the German Archæological Institute in Rome, which are always full of fresh information, are intended to collect and render the recent discoveries generally available. The *Forma urbis* just alluded to is, as it were, a reproduction of the enormous marble plan of Severus, on the Temple wall above the Forum of Peace. With the most recent results Lanciani here unites all that has been discovered and verified in the past. He has been equally diligent over the Christian monuments, even including

[1] The archæological journal of the Roman Municipality, the excellent *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, began in 1872. The *Notizie degli scavi* of the Italian Government, which also carefully chronicles all Roman finds, has appeared since 1876. German journals handling such subjects are the "*Mittheilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Institutes, Römische Abtheilung*" (until 1886 its title was *Bullettino dell' Instituto*, &c.); also the "*Antike Denkmäler*," and the "*Jahrbuch*" of the same Institute, which appeared until 1886 under the names *Monumenti* and *Annali*.

such as date from the Middle Ages. Previous plans of Rome, particularly that by Canina (1848), may have been of great value in their day; by this time, however, they are quite obsolete. Any one relying upon them (as Gregorovius did in all the editions of his *History of the City of Rome*) would be liable to mistakes at every step, as it is easy to realise by glancing at Lanciani's *Forma urbis*.[1]

107. The best known district of ancient Rome is at present the fifth or Esquiline. The lion's share of recent research was bestowed upon it, and it has been brought to light almost in its entirety. The next is the tenth or Palatine region, which has almost entirely divulged its hidden treasures, thanks to the earlier explorations continued down to our day. In the sixth district—*Alta Semita*—a great part of the buildings have been examined; also in the eighth, or *Forum Romanum*, as well as the eleventh, or *Circus Maximus*. Two other districts, the twelfth and thirteenth, or *Piscina publica*, and the Aventine, have also been very carefully investigated at various important points, while in the remaining regions so many discoveries have been made at various times that they can in great part be reconstructed on the map.

While reserving other data for later treatment we shall here enumerate tersely—drawing our information from a compilation of Lanciani's—the archæological works of art yielded by the soil of Rome from 1872 to 1887—that is, during only fifteen years—and now treasured at the Capitoline Museum. The list shows how astonishingly fertile this little corner of the globe still is in relics of classic times, and also what strides topography has made. The finds comprised no less than 1864 inscriptions on marble or other stone; 77 pillars of rare marble, 313 fragments of columns, 157 marble capitals, and 118 pillar-bases; 192 well-preserved marble statues; 21 figures of animals; 266 busts and heads; 705 amphoræ—many bearing important inscriptions; 2360 clay lamps of various and frequently artistic shapes; 590 odd items of earthenware; 405 articles in bronze; 711 jewels and cameos; 18 marble

[1] LANCIANI, *Forma urbis Romae* (1 : 1000), ed. consilio acad. r. Lyncaeorum, Mediolani, Hoepli, 1893 ff. (in progress). See also *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 19 (1895), Heft 1. CANINA, *Edifici di Roma antica*, 1848–1856; the plan of Rome is in Vol. II., Pl. 1–15. See also HÜLSEN'S plan, *Roma veteris tabula in usum scholarum descripta*, Berlin, 1901 (in four sheets).

sarcophagi; 152 marble figures and scenes in bàs-relief; 54 coloured mosaics; 47 objects in gold; 39 in silver, and no less than 36,679 coins in gold, silver, and copper; finally an incalculable quantity of fragments belonging to works in clay, ivory, glass, horn, enamel, stucco, and so on. Almost all this was yielded by the hills, not by the low-lying districts of ancient Rome.[1]

Site of the City. Bridges and Hills

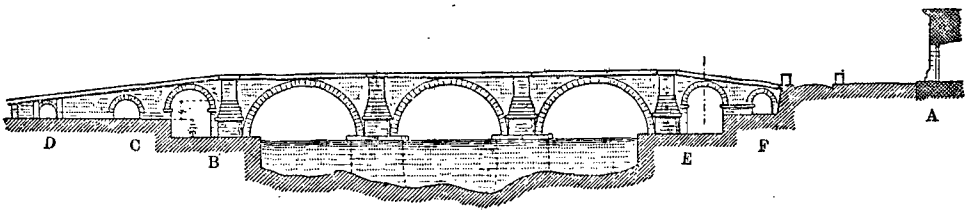
108. During the Empire the flat reaches of the Tiber were less inhabited than the hills which form a girdle round the lower part, or so-called *Campus Martius*, though during the Middle Ages, and in fact till recent times, the actual city and its busiest streets were situated in the hollow. This plain was singled out for the erection of magnificent monumental edifices, and was adorned with a series of arcades, where people could walk and talk and admire the artistic treasures. The seven famous hills on the left bank of the Tiber stand almost in the centre of the broad stretch of land, bounded by the Apennines on the east and by the sea on the west. Together they form an elevation, eminently adapted to become the site of a city and a centre of throbbing life. These hills of volcanic origin lift their heads at a distance of some fifteen miles from the sea. They stand in the Campagna, that picturesquely undulating plain, varied by verdant hills, stretching from north to south, *i.e.* from the Ciminian and Tolfa Mounts to the steep cliffs of the Volscians at Terracina, a distance of about ninety-five miles. The Campagna on the east side extends to the limestone hills of the Apennines, some fifteen miles from Rome, *i.e.* at a distance approximately the same as that of Rome from the sea.

The river which drains this historic ground added much to the means of defence, as well as to the salubrity of the city situated on the heights. It was the main artery for the traffic which flowed towards Rome from the fruitful regions of central Italy. By uniting the city with the sea and with the lands beyond, the river Tiber was a potent factor in the world-wide influence attained by Rome. The Tiber has one tributary, the Anio (Teverone), which joins it four or five miles above Rome. Its southern course skirts the hollow occupied by the *Campus Mar-*

[1] LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome* (1888), p. x.

tius at the base of the upper city. Here the river forms two great reaches, its waters being first turned back by the slight elevation in the *Campus Martius* at the Mausoleum of Augustus, near the Porto di Ripetta. The elevation here is so slight that on this side the Campus Martius is constantly exposed to the risk of inundation, as is sufficiently proved by the records of three and twenty floods experienced during antiquity. The river again winds at the point where, bending still more sharply to the east than before, it encircles the old island of Æsculapius, and is then forced back by the foot of the Capitoline Hill. After quitting the city and receiving several tiny streamlets from the Western Campagna, it is joined about midway between the Aurelian city wall and the Basilica of St. Paul by its other tributary, the small river Almo (the so-called Maranna dell' Acquatoccio), which flows from the heights of Marino.

109. During Imperial days a great many bridges joined the city on the left bank with the sparsely populated right bank.[1] The most northerly bridge was the **Pons Ælius** (Ill. 29), now known as the Ponte Sant' Angelo; the belief that there was a



Ill. 29.—THE PONS ÆLIUS, OR PONTE SANT' ANGELO.
Reconstructed in accordance with the new evidence obtained from the excavations.[2]

so-called Triumphal Bridge still higher up has latterly been proved a mistake. The *Pons Ælius* was specially built by the Emperor Hadrian to connect his magnificent mausoleum (now the Castle of Sant' Angelo) with the city. Recent work at this spot has proved that a causeway led directly from the bridge to the mausoleum (Ill. 29, A). To the left of the bridge an inclined way ascended in the direction of the Vatican Hill (towards St. Peter's), a similar one on the right led to the Gardens of Domitia (Prati di Castello). The *Pons Ælius* is the only ancient bridge

[1] See the Constantinian Catalogue in RICHTER, *Topographie*, p. 189. Cp. below, p. 158, note 1.
[2] From HÜLSEN'S essay in the *Mittheilungen des archäolog. Instituts*, 1893, p. 322.

at Rome in a tolerable state of preservation. Besides the three main arches in the middle of the Tiber, and a smaller one (B), which was always visible on the city side, two yet smaller arches on this same side came to light only in 1892 during the progress of the work of embanking the river (C and D). When the later masonry had been cleared away it was interesting to note how gracefully the original structure rose from the city plain. On the opposite bank, besides one (E) already known before, there stood a second and lesser arch (F); originally the Pons Ælius had therefore eight arches. The difference in height of the side arches was due to the variable water-level. Below the modern pavement of the bridge, and the underlying mediæval equivalent, the workmen came across the original pavement, formed of large polygonal stones.[1]

Farther down stream, but not far from the first, stood the second bridge—the Triumphal Bridge, or **Bridge of Nero.** It was erected by Nero to give access to the Vatican, and also to his circus. At an early but unknown date it either fell into decay or was deliberately removed. When the water is not too high remains may still be seen in the middle of the river, opposite the Hospital of Santo Spirito.

Still farther down came the third bridge, called the **Pons Agrippae,** near the present Farnesina Gardens. Its existence was first heard of in 1887, when its remains and an inscription were discovered. Most likely it was removed as early as the beginning of the third century.[2]

110. The fourth bridge, or **Pons Aurelius,** was built at about the same time. After undergoing substantial alterations, it has now become the Ponte Sisto. On account of its situation, it was in olden times the most important and most frequented bridge in Rome. An ancient perfectly straight street (now in its latter part called Via dei Pettinari), coming from the Porticus and Theatre of Pompey, led across it to the *Via Aurelia Vetus*, which in its turn ascended to the citadel on the Janiculus, and thence to the Aurelian Gate. The bridge was sometimes called *Pons Janiculensis*, from the Janiculus. Its old popular name was

[1] See the Reports and studies on the excavations at the Ælian Bridge (*Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1893, p. 16 and Pl. 1) by LANCIANI and (*Notizie degli scavi*, 1892, p. 231, 412) by BORSARI. Cp. LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 22, where (Fig. 11) the Roman pavement and the original parapet may be seen.

[2] BORSARI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1888, p. 92. LANCIANI, *Ruins*, p. 21 (with plan).

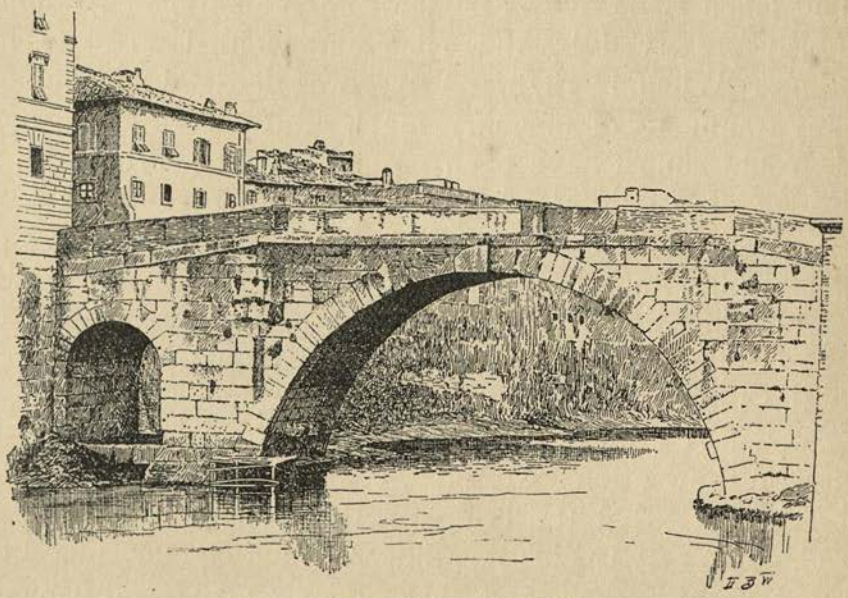
Pons Antonini, after its founder, Antoninus Caracalla. The Emperor Valentinian had this bridge restored and embellished, giving it the name of *Pons Valentiniani*. During the Middle Ages it lay in ruins, and was therefore known as Ponte Rotto. It appears that during a great inundation under Pope Hadrian I. (772–795) it was destroyed, or at any rate so much injured that it gradually became impassable. Pope Sixtus IV. at last rebuilt it on the old foundations in its present form, when, on the occasion of the Jubilee, 1475, he restored many important public buildings.[1]

The fallen ruins of the monumental Valentinian Bridge were religiously preserved by the Tiber and yielded up to us in our own times. When, in 1878, the river was dredged and embanked, so many fragments of masonry, much of it carved, came to light that it would almost have been possible to reconstruct with them the bridge as it appeared under Valentinian, with its ancient piers and stone parapet, with the dedicatory inscription of this Ruler and his joint-Emperor, even down to the marble slab, the figures on which indicated the height of the water. It was found that the bridge began on the city side, with a triumphal arch on which the gilded bronze statues of Valentinian and Valens must have stood. A wing of the same metal, drawn out of the Tiber and now in the National Museum, belonged to a statue of Victory which adorned either the bridge or the arch; an inscription discovered states that Lucius Aurelius Avianus Symmachus, Prefect of Rome in 364, dedicated this figure to the two Emperors. This City Prefect was the father of St. Ambrose's famous opponent, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, who took up the cudgels on behalf of the statue of Victory in the Senate. The find would seem to show that *Victoria* was particularly revered among the Symmachi. Archæological discoveries occasionally thus allow us, as it were, to read between the lines and catch a passing glimpse of many a detail of life in early Rome. These discoveries must, therefore, not be made light of, however trivial they may sometimes appear.[2]

[1] For details of the inundation under Hadrian I., see *Liber pont.*, *Hadrian.*, No. 356. Pastor mentions the restoration under Sixtus in his *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, Eng. Trans., vol. IV., p. 273 f.

[2] The new finds connected with the Valentinian Bridge are published, and in part explained, by LANCIANI (*Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1878, p. 245 ff.), GATTI (ibid., 1892, p. 73), and MARCHETTI (ibid., 1892, p. 138 ff.). Cp. *Notizie degli scavi*, 1891, p. 287; 1892, p. 50, 251.

111. The fifth and sixth bridges bring us down to the Tiber island, once sacred to Æsculapius, and so walled in as to represent the shape of a ship and form a natural bridge pier. The **Pons Fabricius** led to it from the city, the name of its founder being still visible on either side of the bridge. During the Middle Ages it was frequently styled *Pons Iudaeorum* from its proximity to the Ghetto. Still later it was called the "Ponte dei quattro capi," because of two four-headed figures of Hermes built into it at the entrance. Owing to the recent embanking of the river, the arm which used to flow under this bridge has



Ill. 30.—THE BRIDGE OF CESTIUS.
Prior to the construction of the modern buildings. From LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome*, p. 309.

been completely silted up, and for the first time in history it was possible to be sarcastic at the expense of its builder, Fabricius.[1]

The continuation of the bridge last mentioned was the **Pons Cestii,** now called the Ponte San Bartolomeo (Ill. 30), linking the island with the Transtiberine region. After restoration by the Emperor Gratian in 370, this name was changed to *Pons Gratiani.* A long inscription on the inner side of the breastwork has preserved the name and a record of the work of this Emperor. Besides Gratian, the joint-Emperors Valentinian and Valens are mentioned, and all three, in spite of their being Christians, among

[1] See the text of the inscription by Fabricius in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, I, No. 600. Concerning the bridge see BESNIER, *L'île Tibérine dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1892), p. 93 ff.

other grandiloquent titles, bear that of *Pontifex maximus*. In this case it is, however, an empty formula by which Emperors were wont to assert their possession of the outward privileges which once belonged to the Chief Priest.[1]

In the marble the places may still be seen where statues of these Emperor-Pontiffs once stood. The *Pons Gratiani* has contrived with great difficulty to survive the recent Tiber works. In the course of the work it had to be taken entirely to pieces, but, in 1892, it was again erected with the old materials and also lengthened. It was then seen that even in Gratian's time a goodly proportion of the ancient blocks had been taken from the walls of the theatre of Marcellus close at hand. Hence, even in those early days, they had begun to restore public monuments at the expense of earlier edifices for which they had no further use.[2]

According to a debased inscription also on this bridge, it was in an "almost ruinous condition" when, in the tenth century, Benedict, "chief senator of this illustrious city" (*almae urbis summus senator*) was pleased to confer on it the benefit of a restoration.[3]

The **Æmilian** or Palatine Bridge was the seventh bridge in Rome, and stood just above the recently erected Palatine Bridge, which perpetuates its predecessor's name. A picturesque relic of the old one is still visible in the river-bed. The names so often appearing throughout the Middle Ages, *Pons maior*, *Pons Senatorum*, *Pons sanctae Mariae*, all denote this bridge. After having been frequently restored it fell into disuse since 1598, and stood as a ruined "Ponte rotto" until, in 1852, it was again made to do service for some twenty years as a suspension bridge.

The eighth bridge was the venerable **Pons Sublicius**, the oldest in Rome. It was constructed almost entirely of wood, to facilitate prompt demolition in case of need. Owing to the many religious associations attached to it from the first foundation of the city, it was carefully guarded throughout heathen times, nor do we know how or when it fell into decay. Among many

[1] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1175. Probably the inscription was repeated upon the opposite inside wall, where the marble has been repaired. According to the inscription, Gratian alone of the three Emperors was to bequeath his name to the bridge: "... *pontem felicis nominis Gratiani*," &c.

[2] LANCIANI, *Notizie degli scavi*, 1886, p. 159; *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1893, p. 19. HÜLSEN, *Mittheilungen des archäologischen Instituts*, 1889, p. 282.

[3] *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1175; NIBBY, *Roma antica*, I, 173.

hypotheses as to its site, the most probable places it at the northern commencement of what is now known as the Ripa grande. During the previously mentioned work on the Tiber, some ancient remains of piles, which had hitherto been visible there, were removed from the river.

Until quite lately, too, some relics survived of the ninth ancient bridge, or **Pons Probi.** This led across the river from the so-called Marmorata to the neighbourhood of the present San Michele Hospital. It was restored by the Emperor Theodosius, and went by the name of *Pons in ripa Romaea.*

Thus, by aid of the latest research and discoveries, the question of the Roman bridges, one which formerly bristled with difficulties, seems in the main to have received a satisfactory answer.[1]

112. Among the seven hills of Rome, the **Palatine,** the first one to be built upon, forms its natural centre. Towards the north the *Velia* forms a sort of bridge or promontory attached to it. On the south it is faced by the **Aventine,** whose higher parts and green slopes overhang the Tiber. The wide stretching lower portion, where now the churches of St. Saba and St. Balbina stand, sinks towards the valley on the south-east as far as the Appian Way. Another hill, the **Mons capitolinus,** rises on the north-west side of the Palatine. The fourth, or **Quirinal,** was once united with the Capitoline on the north-east by means of a sort of ridge; this was, however, cut through in the time of the Empire, when Trajan's Forum was being built. The *Mons quirinalis* extends rather far to the north and east, and forms a kind of plateau upon the eastern side. From this high ground two other hills slope down towards the Palatine—the **Viminalis** and the **Esquiline.** The latter has two spurs, each with a name: the more northerly was called Cispius, the southerly, Oppius; the hollow between them was, in ancient days, called the Fagutal. Finally, the seventh hill, the **Cælian,** rising south-east of the

[1] There was already some confusion in the Constantine Catalogue, since the real order of the bridges is not observed. In its list of the eight bridges this catalogue includes the "*Pons Molvius*," that is to say, the Milvian Bridge, which stood far outside Rome on the Flaminian Way. In lieu of this, we have included instead the *Pons Agrippae*, and by adding the *Pons Neronianus* we have brought the number to nine. Cp. RICHTER, *Topographie*, p. 53 ff. and 40, as well as the literature he cites, p. 32, note 1. For an appreciation of MAYERHÖFER, "*Untersuchungen über die Brücken und Thore Roms*" (*Geschichtlich-topographischen Studien über das alte Rom*, München, 1887, Programm des Ludwigs-Gymnasiums), see HÜLSEN, *Mittheilungen des archäol. Instituts*, 1889, p. 232.

Palatine, is separated from it by a valley of great depth. It has no connection with the other hills on the Palatine side, but subsides gently eastwards past the Lateran, and is ultimately merged in the plateau just mentioned, which forms the eastern side of Rome. This plateau, between the Sessorian Palace (S. Croce in Gerusalemme) and the Tiburtine Gate, was the neighbourhood where almost all the aqueducts met; from such a height it was easier to distribute the water throughout the city.

The Pincian, a more distant hill to the north of the Quirinal, as well as the two heights on the right side of the Tiber—the Janiculus and the Vatican—are not included among the seven hills, at least not when speaking of the historical development of the city. As for the *Mons testaceus* at the south-western angle of the city, it is not a natural eminence, but grew up after the time of Augustus, as its old name indicates, through the gradual accumulation of potsherds and rubbish from the huge emporium.

113. The valleys between these hills were formerly much deeper than they appear now, and, in the interest of traffic, the municipality is bent on equalising still more the irregularities of the surface. Any one in ancient days entering the city from the south by the *Via Appia*, and proceeding thence through the *Via Nova* (*Antoniniana*) to the *Circus maximus*, would have traversed the deep valley of the district called *Piscina publica*. Here he would have seen the several arches of Trajan's bridge towering well nigh a hundred feet above him, and carrying the *Aqua Marcia* and *Claudia* from the Cælian to the Aventine. This aqueduct is last mentioned by the Einsiedeln Itinerary of the eighth century.[1]

If the traveller then bent his steps towards the Coliseum, he entered a valley between the Cælian and the Palatine which, during the early days of the Empire, was immensely deeper than the present one through which the Via di San Gregorio runs. In 1878 when the work of draining the Coliseum was in progress, remains of buildings belonging to the time of Nero were found in this vale not less than six and thirty feet below the present pavement. The street constructed subsequently to Nero's fire was found at a depth of about ten feet below the present surface.

[1] "*Per porticum usque ad formam per septem vias.*" LANCIANI, *L' itinerario* (see above, p. 146, note 1).

There were thus at this spot no less than three roads superposed. At this point the valley was filled in during the first century of the Christian era; Constantine's triumphal arch was erected in front of the Coliseum upon ground already raised, and across the then Roman thoroughfare. To pass through the triumphal arch it was originally necessary to mount several steps, whereas the Via di San Gregorio now crosses it at a level. An aqueduct of Septimius Severus carried its water at a giddy height above this valley-road on superposed arches, of which only the lower portion still exists. The gushing stream came from the *Aqua Claudia* on the Cælian, and flowed across to water the Imperial palaces on the Palatine.

We may prolong our walk to observe the better how great an alteration has taken place in the ground-level. Nothing can give us so clear an idea of the change at Rome than the difference in this matter between the ancient and the modern city.

Where the Coliseum now stands there was once a hollow valley. Nero altered it into a magnificent lake, forming part of his "Golden House." In the northern wall of the Cælian we can still see the openings whence the waters issued which supplied the low-lying lake.

Turning towards the Roman Forum, a spectator would have looked up at the lofty roof of the Atrium of Vesta lying in the valley beyond the Velia. Yet days were to come when there would be here, instead of a valley, a pile of earth and rubbish rising seventy-two feet above the Atrium. In fact, in excavating the House of the Vestals, a deposit seventy-two feet thick was cleared away above the principal hall. This is, so far as we know, the greatest height reached by the rubbish accumulated above Rome's antiquities. At the Quirinal Hill modern building operations upon its declivities have brought a similar state of things to light. It was surrounded by hollows which, compared to the conditions prevailing now or even in mediæval times, present a regular puzzle. When, for instance, in 1877, the long course of the Via Nazionale was laid between the Quirinal and the Viminal, behind the *Porta fontinalis* of Servius (between Magnanapoli and the Banca Nazionale), the excavators first came across portions of the Baths of Constantine; under these was found the mansion of Avidius Quintus; deeper still, the house of a certain Claudius Claudianus; and finally still earlier structures

in *opus reticulatum*. This was at the southern angle of the Quirinal. At one point on its north-east side, outside the *Porta collina* in the wall of Servius Tullius, the descent was once so abrupt that when laying the foundations of the north-eastern wall of the new Ministry of Finance it was found necessary to dig down nearly forty feet of earth and rubbish before the bed-rock was reached. Farther north, in the valley of the ancient Sallustian Gardens, between the Quirinal and the Pincian, we may even now enjoy the surprising sight of ancient structures emerging from the depression adjoining the modern Via Flavia. They are the halls of a vast Nymphæum, which seems to have sunk down as though by magic. The ancient foundation soil on which they stand lies quite forty feet below the present surface.

114. A few instances of change of level about the churches will now be given. The Basilica of St. Vitalis, called formerly *Titulus Vestinae*, was erected at the beginning of the fifth century upon the southern slope of the Quirinal, and stood a little above the valley street. At present, thirty-six steps lead down from the street to this church.

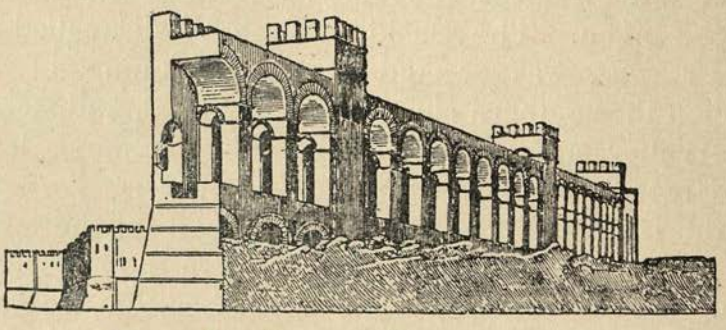
Near the Basilica Pudenziana, which stood on the level of an old street called the *Vicus Patricius*, between the Viminal and the Esquiline, the ground is now so much higher that we gaze upon this witness of the Church's earliest ages lying at the foot of a staircase of twenty-two steps. The Esquiline Basilica (Sta. Maria Maggiore), was built upon a knoll overlooking the valley formed by the Esquiline opposite the Viminal. Although the ascent is still noticeable, it was lately necessary, when building the house standing at the south corner of the Via Cavour and the Piazza dell' Esquilino, to dig down through more than fifty-five feet of accumulated rubbish in order to reach the original bed of rock.

The Aurelian Wall

115. The repeated sieges of Rome which we have already spoken of afford more than sufficient proof of the importance of the Aurelian Wall for the continued existence of the city. This wall, which we can see and admire even at the present day, not only holds a lasting place in the annals of Rome, but is also, from both a topographical and monumental standpoint, one of the most important and most attractive memorials of the Eternal City.

The earliest city wall is that ascribed to Servius, a mighty product of the kingly period, but having a smaller area than the Aurelian Wall. Its course was mostly along the summit of the seven hills we have just described. As Rome subsequently had far outgrown this girdle, the Emperors Aurelian (270–275) and Probus (276–282), spurred on by the menace of an invasion by the barbarians, who had already reached the Metaurus, enclosed the city within a wall of considerably greater length.

This wall begins where the Tiber, descending from the north, reaches Rome nigh by the Flaminian Gate. At first it skirts the left bank of the river, alongside the *Campus Martius*, thence it continues past the Ælian Bridge (now the Ponte Sant' Angelo) to the Aurelian or Valentinian Bridge (now Ponte Sisto). Here



Ill. 31.—The Aurelian Wall from within.
Reconstruction.[1]

it crosses to the farther side of the Tiber, turns back along the right bank, and, ascending to the summit of the Janiculus, where its course is still shown by vast ruins, it attains the castle which once crowned the height, the *Arx Ianiculensis*. Thence it takes a south-easterly direction down to the *Porta Portuensis*, near to which the Tiber again flows away from the city. Thus only the southern portion of the right bank—the Transtiberine region—was enclosed by the city wall, not the northern part where the St. Peter Basilica stands. The Vatican region was not surrounded by a wall till long after, and had good cause to regret its defencelessness.

The Aurelian Wall recommences its course along the left bank, and from this point it is almost everywhere in evidence at the present day, though what we see has frequently been

[1] Guhl-Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer nach antiken Bildwerken*, 5 (1882), p. 431; cp. Piranesi, *Antichità di Roma*, i. tav. 8, 2.

repaired and added to in later times and even to the present day. It first follows the course of the river southwards, then, bending east, surrounds the *Mons testaceus;* gives egress to the *Via Ostia* at the picturesque gate now called Porta San Paolo, and farther on, to the *Via Appia* and *Via Latina.* Still bearing to the east, it arrives below the Lateran and the Sessorium at its farthest eastern limit, close to the exit of the *Via Labicana* and *Via Praenestina.* After this, by a north-westerly course, it reverts to the Flaminian Gate, from which it started, crossing on its way the *Via Tiburtina,* encircling the vast Prætorian Camp, next giving outlet to the *Via Nomentana* and the *Via Salaria,* and finally serving as a retaining wall to the *Collis hortulorum* on the Pincian.

Such is the famous stone girdle of Rome. On account of the restorations effected in 403 by Honorius, when the city was in even more imminent danger, this wall is sometimes called the Honorian Wall (Ill. 31, 32).

116. The gates of this wall, at the time of Honorius, succeeded each other in the following order. The first was the Flaminian, on the north; next came one at the Ælian Bridge; then on the opposite right bank, and still on level ground, the *Porta Septimiana,* which, on its present site, served as the southern entrance to the Vatican precincts. On the summit of the Janiculus stood the *Porta Aurelia,* and at its foot the *Porta Portuensis,* near the river. On the left bank of the river, the *Porta Ostiensis,* the *Porta Ardeatina,* the *Porta Appia,* the *Porta Latina,* the *Porta Metrovi,* and the *Porta Asinaria* succeeded one another in turn. The latter was quite close to the Lateran Palace, the residence of the Bishop of Rome, and therefore of great importance ecclesiastically. The gates in the wall as it proceeded north were the *Praenestina,* the *Tiburtina,* the *Clausa,* and the *Nomentana.* The northern portion of the wall had only two openings, viz., the *Porta Salaria* and the *Porta Pinciana.*

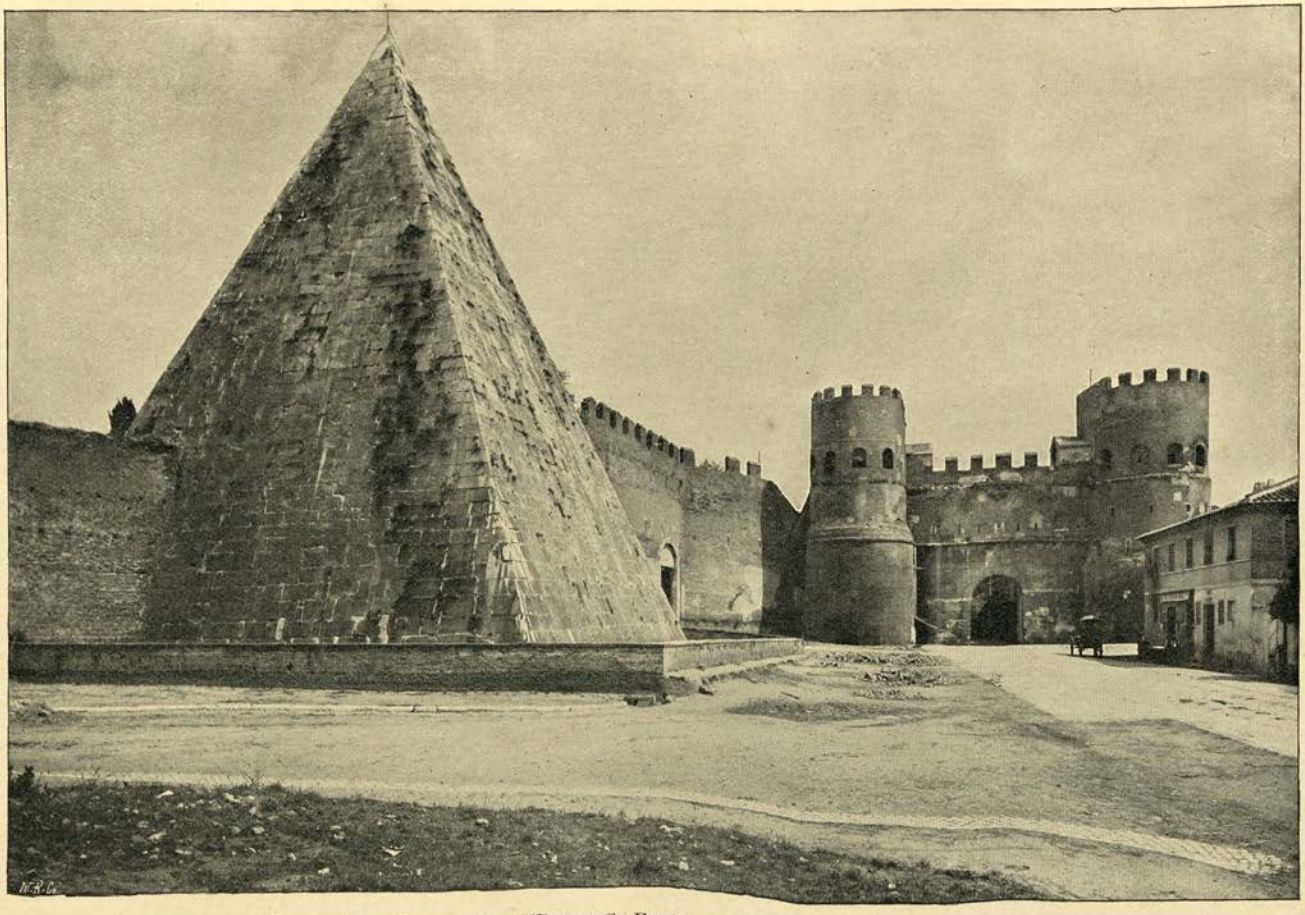
117. This imposing structure, according to Lanciani's latest calculations, was rather more than 20,600 yards in length. It is noteworthy that a considerable part of the line of wall was formed by earlier structures, which were utilised by Aurelian, from motives of economy and hurry. Not only were several monuments, standing actually upon the line of route, built into the

masonry, as, for instance, the superb sepulchral pyramid of Cestius at the Porta Ostia (now Porta S. Paolo; see Ill. 32),[1] but whole ranges of previous walls were also incorporated, with very slight alteration. This happened, for a distance of 1803 feet, with the ancient retaining walls of the Pincian Gardens, where to this day portions of reticular work earlier than the time of Aurelian may be seen here and there on the north side. The same thing happened at the *Castrum praetorium*, where, for a distance of 1148 yards, the beautiful fortified enclosure which Tiberius built round it does duty as the city wall. The arcades of the *Aqua Marcia*, between the *Tiburtina* and *Praenestina* Gates, were simply filled in with masonry and included in the main circuit, thus saving a length of 874 yards. South of the *Porta Praenestina* the arches of the *Aqua Claudia* again saved another 519 yards, while the artistic enclosure of the *Amphitheatrum castrense*, near Santa Croce, supplied yet another 109 yards, and so on. According to recent computation, 3132 yards were thus economised, or more than one-sixth of the entire circuit. That was the usual way of building at Rome in the latter days of the Empire.[2] A curious example of the precipitation with which the wall was erected came to light during work at the *Porta Tiburtina* between 1882 and 1884. The back wall, more than thirty yards in length, of an ancient Nymphæum was laid bare. It had been built into the defences, and was still in possession of its *conchae* and water-pipes, even some statues, by no means devoid of artistic merit, being still in their niches.[3] The execution of that portion of the wall which was entirely new contrasts, however, favourably with this patchwork, being built with perfect

[1] New photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani. Between the Ostian Gate and the Pyramid is seen another gate erected towards the end of the Middle Ages, probably by Nicholas V. on the occasion of the Jubilee. Within the low walls the Pyramid descends lower than on the outside. Its entrance, which is decorated with two columns, lies on the opposite side near where the top of a tree is seen.

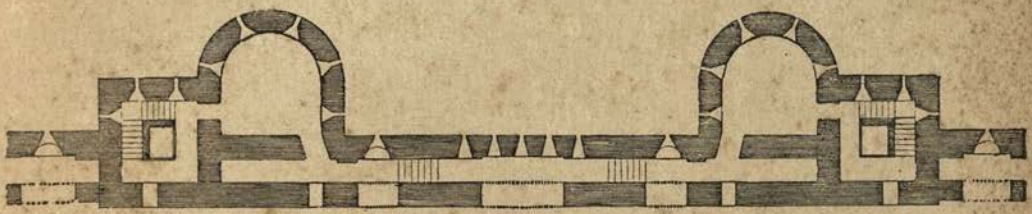
[2] LANCIANI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1892, p. 87 ff.: *Le mura di Aureliano e di Probo* —especially p. 106. Lanciani's studies have materially rectified many previous statements about the walls, and, above all, have greatly enlarged our knowledge of the subject. Cp. JORDAN, *Topographie*, 1, p. 340 ff. NIBBY, *Le mura di Roma* (Roma, 1820), with drawings by W. GELL. The letterpress is partly repeated in NIBBY, *Roma antica*, 1, 114 ff. PIALE, *Delle mura aureliane* (1833). BUNSEN, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* (1829), 644 ff.

[3] "Le abbiamo ritrovate (le statue) una ad una nel luogo loro, e non si tratta di opere di volgare scalpello." Lanciani also speaks of other statues found in the walls. Petersen discusses the statues in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1889, p. 17 ff. Part of the remarkable Nymphæum just mentioned can still be seen to the left of the large cutting made in the city wall for the purpose of opening a way to the Basilica of San Lorenzo.



Ill. 32.—The Ostian Gate (Porta S. Paolo) with the Pyramid of Cestius.

harmony and great technical skill. At intervals of one hundred Roman feet strong towers are placed, which, the better to defend the wall, project above and beyond it. They are mostly square, but occasionally round (Ill. 33).[1] There are altogether no less than 381 of them. The wall itself averages fifty-three feet in height. Both the towers and the wall are brick built. In its lower and more massive parts the wall reaches an average thickness of



Ill. 33.—THE AURELIAN WALL.

Ground plan of a portion with round towers.

about four yards. A lofty open gallery ran all round the interior side, roofed over with arches, supported by strong buttresses. This gallery is still visible in many places. Loopholes (*fenestrae*), narrowing outwards, opened from the gallery on to the exterior. The arches of the gallery supported a second and smaller gallery, along which, behind the battlements, sentinels could pace from tower to tower. This upper walk was reached by stairs inside the tower (Ill. 31).[2]

118. After these fortifications had been restored under Honorius, in 403, the geometrician Ammon issued a short official account of the work. This is still preserved to us in the famous Einsiedeln codex, but the text has been slightly altered in the eighth century—about the time of Pope Hadrian—to bring it into closer conformity with the state of the wall at that date. According to Ammon's minute statistics the early parapet had 7020 embrasures (*propugnacula*); besides the loopholes used by the archers there were 2066 larger openings for the engines (*fenestrae maiores*); besides the gateways enumerated above, there were five small entries

[1] UGGERI, *Journeaux pittoresques*, ii., Pl. 27, 3. Such round towers are not often met with in the walls, nearly all the towers being square.

[2] The *Forma urbis*, which Lanciani is engaged in publishing, shows the towers, and even the stairs, where they still exist. Cp. GUHL-KONER, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer nach antiken Bildwerken* (1882), p. 431; PIRANESI, *Antichità di Roma*, i, Pl. 8, No. 2.

(*posternae*) and 126 *necessariae* (or closets) projecting beyond the wall.[1]

The small gates or posterns were doubtless convenient, but were also a danger to the city. Previous to the work of restoration undertaken by Honorius they had been very numerous. Most of them had been opened in deference to private claims, and to serve as a passage wherever there was right of way through the ramparts. The Emperor Honorius suppressed all save these five, which opened on to the Tiber, and were thus more easily safeguarded. The rest, as can be seen in places to this day, were closed with massive masonry.[2]

To strengthen the defences the soil without was in some places removed to a certain depth, whilst elsewhere piles of accumulated ruins were carried away. Everywhere damaged portions were repaired and injured towers rebuilt. Above all, attention was bestowed on the gates.

Several of these gates still display certain common features, in their semi-circular flanking towers and rows of equal-sized round-arch windows above the entrance. In their main lines, they probably date from the time of Honorius (cp. Ill. 15). The *Porta Appia* belongs to this group, but here the later restoration of its towers must be taken into account. The lower portions of this gate and of its towers are still clad in a splendid marble facing. The marble blocks were probably purloined by Honorius's architects from the Temple of Mars, which used to stand on the *Clivus Martis*, outside the gate to the left. If this temple was not already in ruins it was sacrificed exceptionally, because from its position just outside the walls it could have afforded a good vantage-ground to an attacking force.[3]

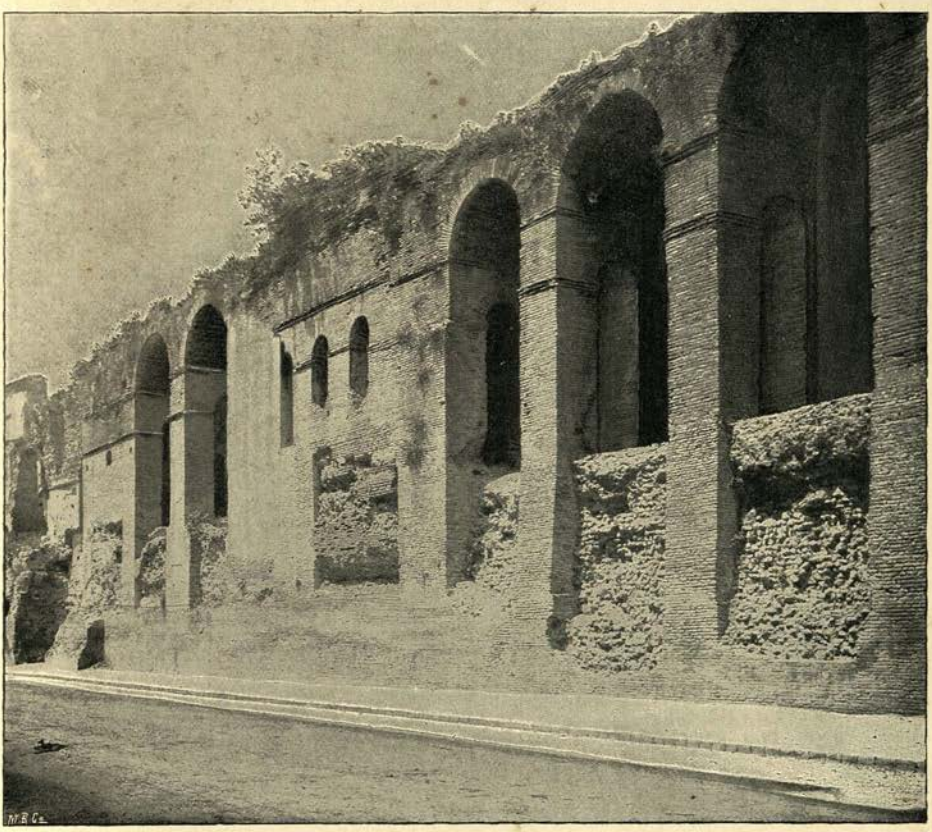
The stretch of wall bearing the fewest traces of alteration under Honorius, and even during subsequent centuries, is that portion standing between the Salarian and the Pincian Gates[4]

[1] Ammon's text is given in JORDAN, 2, 578; cp. p. 155. It had already appeared in URLICHS, *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (1871); HÄNEL, *Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik*, 5 (1837); MABILLON, *Analecta*, 4 (1685). In the last three authors the text comes at the end of the Einsiedeln Itinerary, in which it had been preserved. For the date of the above description of the wall, see LANCIANI, l.c., p. 101, note 2; for the number of towers, JORDAN, 2, 157 ff.; LANCIANI, l.c., p. 89.

[2] LANCIANI, l.c., p. 101. NOLLI'S plan of Rome (1748) is particularly valuable, all the *posternae* or *posterulae* being marked.

[3] LANCIANI, l.c., p. 103.

[4] New photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani. To the left is seen the side-wall of the Pincian Gate. Within this portion of the Wall stood the Villa Ludovisi.



Ill. 34.—Inner Side of the Aurelian Wall. A Dismantled Tower flanked by Galleries near the Pincian Gate.

(Ill. 34, cp. Ill. 16). This part (as well as that by the Lateran and the portion behind the *Mons testaceus*) best serves the purpose at the present day of impressing us with the gigantic scale on which the work of Aurelian and Probus was planned.[1]

These massive, melancholy ruins, after more than fifteen hundred years, still invite the thoughtful traveller to conjure up visions of all the vicissitudes which Rome has experienced within and around them during the lapse of so many ages. The ramparts of Rome tell tales of a chequered career. They bear silent witness to all the great events of the world, of which they have experienced the reaction, especially to the repeated onslaughts of the German North. Reverting to the period with which we are now dealing, they tell of the difficult and tearful transition from ancient to mediæval ecclesiastical Rome, inseparably associated with the name of Honorius and his successors.

The Fourteen Regions

119. During the fifth and sixth centuries, conformably with the phase of transition from classical to ecclesiastical Rome, two distinct fashions of dividing the city were in vogue. The old one, introduced by Augustus, reckoned fourteen regions, whilst the new ecclesiastical one counted only seven.

The latter system probably came into use as early as the Roman Bishop Fabian, towards the middle of the third century, being connected with the appointment of the seven deacons for the Roman parishes. This ecclesiastical division of the city, which is involved in considerable obscurity, must, however, be reserved for examination later. This is the place for a retrospective glance at the ancient Augustan system, which serves as a groundwork to the student of either the Pagan or early Christian topography of Rome. When the Emperor Augustus divided the city into fourteen regions, he relied upon certain well-known lines of demarcation which stood ready to hand. Such was, above all, the course of the Wall of Servius. This ancient rampart was enclosed afterwards within the far more extensive Wall of Aurelian, and the oldest thoroughfares led direct to its different gates. The Wall of Servius thus served to divide the city inside its circle, from the already important

[1] *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1886, p. 32.

districts lying outside it. The valleys between the hills were also well calculated to furnish Augustus with clear boundaries by which to separate the different quarters.

Four of the regions were outside the Wall of Servius; five were wholly inside it; five were partly inside and partly beyond it. As for the fourteenth region, it was formed by that portion of the city lying on the right bank of the Tiber.[1]

Each region was divided into *vici*, each of which had its own *Lares Compitales*, of which the *aediculae* stood in the street. In early times each *vicus* was governed by four *magistri;* according to Constantine's list each region had forty-eight *magistri* and two *curatores*. For police purposes there was one cohort of *vigiles* and a barracks for every two regions.

The first region lay mostly outside the Wall of Servius, between the Cælian and the *Via Appia;* the second was largely inside, and comprised the Cælian; the third region, also inside, stretched over the *Oppius* to the *Cispius;* the fourth region was also situated inside, and included the Subura Valley, and the *Sacra Via;* the fifth was outside on the Esquiline; the sixth inside on the Quirinal and the Viminal, outside on the eastern Pincian;[2] the seventh outside, between the Quirinal and the *Via Flaminia;* the eighth inside, with the Capitol and the adjoining great forums; the ninth outside, between the *Via Flaminia* and the Tiber; the tenth inside, on the Palatine; the eleventh also inside, with the plain of the *Circus maximus* down to the Tiber; the twelfth and thirteenth, partly outside and partly inside, with the whole of the Aventine the latter (after Augustus, or perhaps Claudius) enclosing the south-lying quay-sides and warehouses (*horrea*); finally the fourteenth, as already stated, occupied the farther or right bank of the Tiber.

120. Passing on to a short sketch of each region, we may say that the first was called **Porta Capena**, from the name of the gateway in the Wall of Servius comprised within its boundaries, and through which the Appian Way passed out of the city. This ancient and long-sought city gate was found in 1867 by an Englishman, J. H. Parker, during some excavations upon the flank of the Cælian. Apart from the wall itself, the boundaries of

[1] LANCIANI, *Ricerche sulle XIV. regioni urbane*, in *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1890, p. 115 ff.; RICHTER, *Topographie*, 2nd ed., p. 53 ff.

[2] LANCIANI, ibid., p. 117 and Pl. IX., X. HÜLSEN (*Rheinisches Museum*, 49, 1894, p. 422) rightly holds that the Sallustian Gardens formed a part of the sixth region.

this region were, on the one hand, that part of the Appian Way from the little river Almo up to the above-named gate; on the other, the ancient road leading through the Wall of Aurelian at the *Porta Metrovi*, or Metrovia. The commencement of the *Via Appia* was the most important street in the quarter. It was the route followed by Christian pilgrims on their way to the catacombs of St. Callistus, Domitilla, and St. Sebastian. Striking Pagan sepulchral monuments stood all along the Appian Way, starting from the *Porta Capena*. Not far from the Servian Gate they were interrupted by the aqueduct over the so-called Arch of Drusus, and by the towering *Porta Appia* behind it in the Aurelian Wall.

The second region, usually known as **Caelimontium**, was bounded by the outer Wall from the *Porta Metrovi* to the *Porta Asinaria*, by the present Via dei Santi Quattro or Street of the Four Saints, which is very ancient, and by the *Via triumphalis*, or present Via di San Gregorio. The Lateran Palace stood at the eastern boundary of this second region, and as early as the first half of the fourth century was the residence of the Bishop of Rome. Beside it rose the magnificent basilica of St. Saviour, built by Constantine the Great. In this Cælian district the Anicii, among others, had their home, as the reader already knows, on the brow of the hill overlooking the *Via triumphalis*. To the left, on the other side of the *Clivus Scauri*, the Temple of Claudius, built on unusually massive substructures, rose behind the house of Pammachius. In the background the prolongation of the *Clivus Scauri* leads through the Arch of Dolabella to the Palace of the Valerii and to the *Macellum Magnum*, the present circular church of the Proto-martyr St. Stephen.

The third district was called **Isis and Serapis**, from a temple dedicated to these deities, the site of which has never yet been identified with any certainty. It appears to have stood between the *Caelius* and the *Oppius*. One boundary of this district was formed by the Servian Wall, namely, from the *Porta Caelimontana* to the Esquiline Gate (*i.e.* up to the Arch of Gallienus, beside San Vito). The rest of the boundary is fixed by the course of ancient roadways, which can still be traced under streets of the present day.[1] The Flavian Amphitheatre belongs to this district, that colossal and world-famed building whose remains

[1] LANCIANI, ibid., p. 136.

alone would suffice to immortalise the grandeur of the ancient monuments at Rome. The Baths of Trajan, and the *Porticus Liviae* adjoining them at the north-east, were also among the noble edifices of this region.

The fourth was called **Templum Pacis,** on account of the Temple built by Vespasian which it contained, and which bore this name. A part of the Viminal and the Subura Valley, that is, the low ground between the Palatine and the Velia on one side, and the Oppius and Cispius with the Fagutal on the other, belonged to this region. The glory of this fourth district was the *Sacra Via*, bordered by magnificent mansions. The *Sacra Via* was the oldest highway in Rome, and passed from the Flavian Coliseum, through the Arch of Titus, in the direction of the *Forum Romanum.*

121. The fifth district was called **Esquiliae,** because it embraced the whole summit of the Esquiline lying outside the Servian Wall. On one side it was bounded by a strip of this wall from the *Porta Viminalis* to the Esquiline Gate, and thence farther to the *Porta Caelimontana;* on the other side by two ancient streets which led respectively from the *Porta Viminalis* to the *Porta Clausa* of the Aurelian Wall, and from the *Porta Viminalis* to the *Porta Asinaria* of the same wall. In this district the Macellum of Livia and the Nymphæum of Alexander (Trofei di Mario) in the foreground, and at the back against the Aurelian Wall the *Amphitheatrum castrense* and the Sessorian Palace of St. Helena, where now stands the church of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme, deserve to be mentioned.

The sixth region was **Alta Semita.** This was the old name of the path leading straight across the Quirinal heights. At present the broader roadway is called Via del Quirinale, and, farther on, goes by the ill-omened name of Via Venti Settembre. Among the monuments and pleasure-grounds of this district the most celebrated were the two vast Thermæ of Diocletian and of Constantine, the Sallustian Gardens, the lofty Temple of Quirinus—which has vanished without a trace, but which stood on the site now occupied by the garden of the Quirinal Palace—and the Temple near the mansion of the Colonna family, of which the grand ruins, called the Temple of the Sun, have survived the Middle Ages; finally, the *Castrum Praetorium*, the easily recognised Prætorian camp near the

Aurelian Wall, an entrenched piece of ground of tragic celebrity in the history of Imperial Rome.

The seventh region was called **Via Lata.** Originally this name designated a road or a neighbourhood, probably—as the name of the old church Sta. Maria in Via lata seems to indicate—the lower course of the Flaminian Way. The boundaries are easily given: the long line of the *Via Flaminia* and the stretch of Servian Wall from the *Porta ratumena* (in the Via del Marforio below the Capitol) to the *Porta fontinalis*, and then upwards along the Quirinal heights. On the Pincian Hill, or *Collis hortulorum*, which was a part of this district, the Pincian Palace once stood, and for a time was the residence of Belisarius. In the level ground in the middle of the region, the Portico of Agrippa enclosed the *Campus Agrippae;* it also comprised the Portico of Vipsanius, and to the south the grand Portico of Constantine. An aqueduct called *Forma Virginis* traversed the region upon piers which are still partly standing. It went on to the neighbourhood of the Pantheon, to supply the baths, ponds, and fountains of the *Campus Martius* on the farther side of the Flaminian Way.

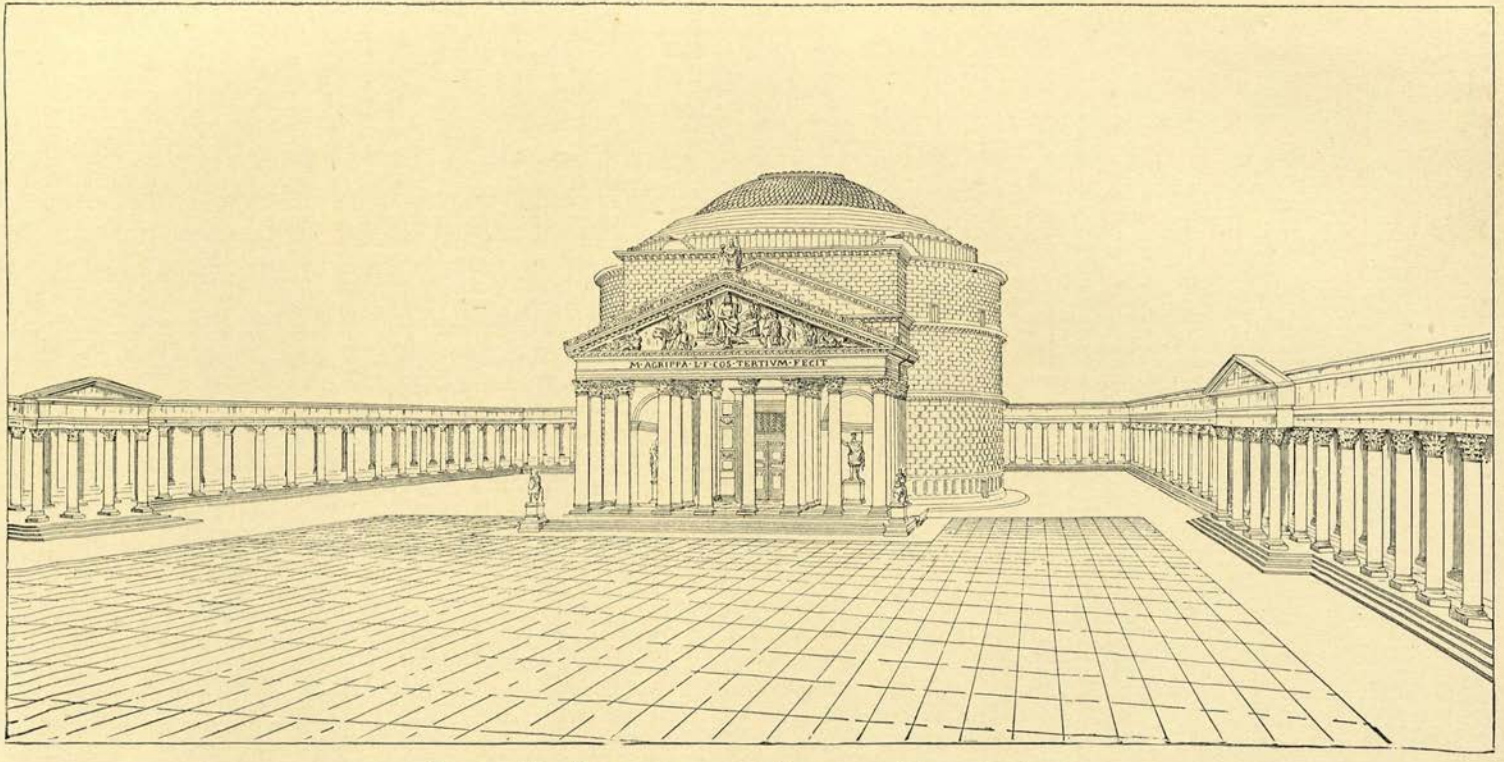
122. The eighth district, **Forum Romanum** or **Magnum,** is sufficiently described by its name. As usual the boundary starts with the Servian Wall, beginning at the *Porta flumentana* (behind S. Galla) to the *Porta ratumena*, and including what was later on to be known as Trajan's Forum. The other limits are the *Forum transitorium*, the *Argiletum* as far as the Janus on the Roman Forum; after this the *Sacra Via*, the Arch of Titus, the *Nova Via* (meaning not the modern street, but that excavated in our day, and which passed under the ancient arch between the Palatine and the House of the Vestals); finally, the *Vicus tuscus* and the *Forum boarium.* The buildings of this region, of which the list in the Constantinian Catalogue is tolerably complete, have been already mentioned (p. 143).

The ninth region is the **Circus Flaminius.** The circus which gave its name to the district lies in its southern portion. Of this huge structure only a little remains under the two modern palaces of the Mattei and Gaetani. The Via delle Botteghe Oscure reminds us by its name of the northern arcades of the Flaminian Circus, along which this street formerly passed, while the name of Via dei Funari perpetuates the memory of the cordmakers to whom the circus was turned

over during the Middle Ages. In this district, as well as in the adjoining seventh, there is not the slightest difficulty in determining the boundaries. They follow the line of the *Via Flaminia*, which divides the ninth from the seventh district, then the Tiber and the short length of the Servian Wall from the *Porta flumentana* to the *Porta ratumena*. Among the magnificent buildings once situated in the *Campus Martius*, which belongs to this district, we must call special attention to the Theatre of Marcellus which, disguised as a palace and stronghold combined, contrived to outlive the Middle Ages; the Theatre of Balbus, of which some remains are still visible; Pompey's Theatre, Domitian's Stadium (Piazza Navona), the Pantheon—that grandest and best preserved temple of all classical antiquity, which, when situated in the midst of an open space, must have been incomparably more impressive than at present (Ill. 35)[1]—also the Thermæ of Agrippa, near the Pantheon, those of Nero and of Alexander (in the vicinity of S. Salvator in Thermis), the *Saepta Iulia*, the Odeum of Domitian, and the Mausoleum of Augustus, standing to the north near the Flaminian Gate, and still fairly well preserved; finally the vast porticoes of Octavia, of Philip, and of Pompey. The superb column of Marcus Aurelius (Ill. 36), still almost intact, supported statues of the Emperor and his wife Faustina, which looked down upon a brilliant circle of other porticoes, among which that of Vipsanius and that of the Argonauts were the most important. At present, unfortunately, the lower part of the column (as far as A) is covered.

The tenth district, **Palatium**, clearly derives its name from its situation on the Palatine Hill bearing the Imperial palaces. The central hill, forming the district, was surrounded by the *Vicus tuscus*, the *Nova Via*, the *Sacra Via* as far as the Coliseum, then the *Via triumphalis* and the *Circus Maximus*. Thanks to its gorgeous palaces of the Emperors, this district had become the centre of attraction in Rome. This Imperial residence, occupied until the third century by an uninterrupted line of Emperors, comprised quite a series of individual palaces and mansions, for

[1] Drawn by the painter Tabanelli after ISABELLE, *Édifices circulaires*, and LANCIANI, *Forma urbis Romae*. The open space surrounding the edifice was paved with great flags, of which portions have repeatedly come to light in the excavations. It stretched from the front of the Pantheon toward the present church of Sta. Maddalena. The Porticus to the right fronts the Baths of Alexander; the position of the corresponding galleries to the left and at the back is a matter of conjecture. Probably the draughtsman has exaggerated the extent of the open space behind.



Ill. 35.—The Pantheon and its Environs. (Reconstruction.)

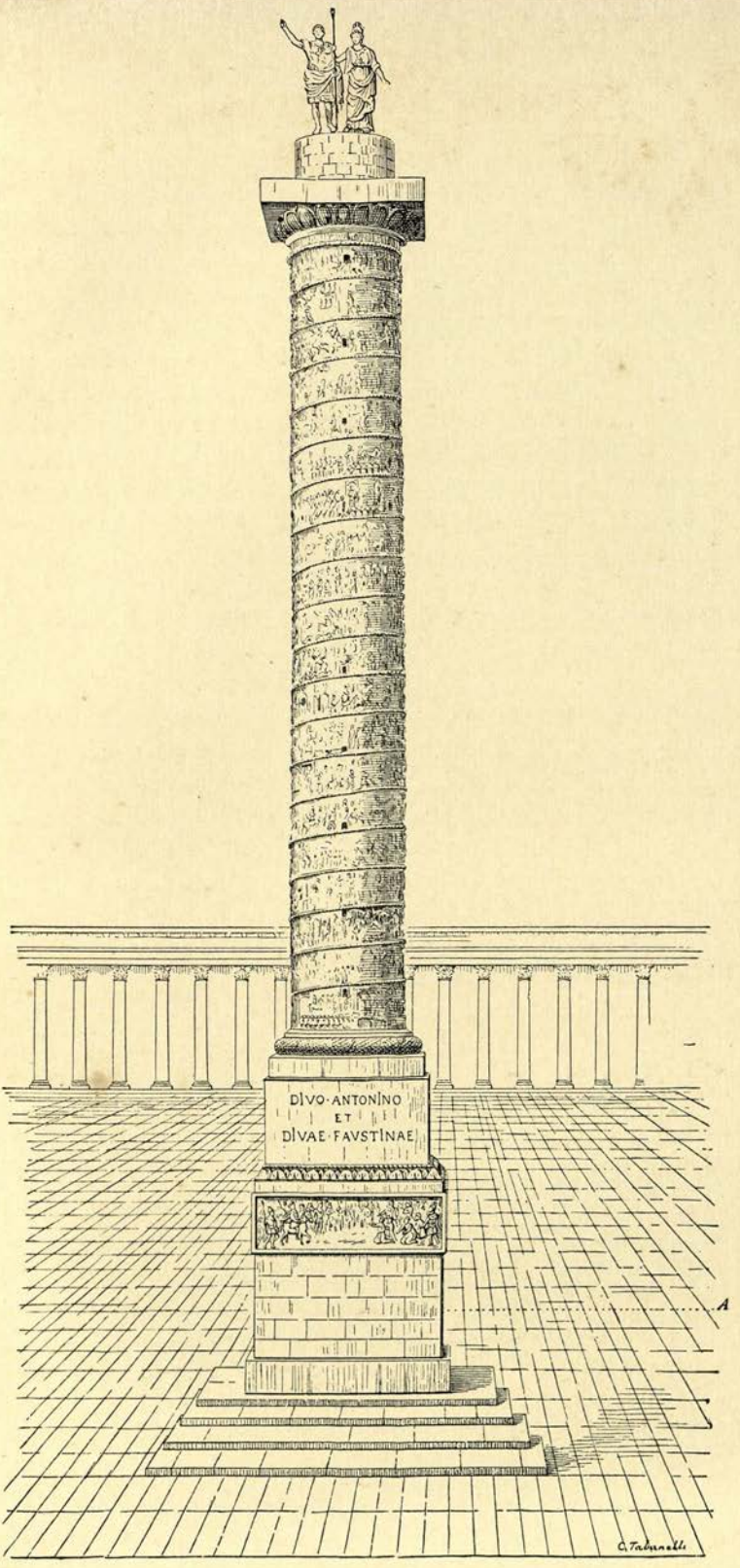
instance, the *Domus Augusti*, *Domus Tiberii*, *Domus Caligulae*, and the *Domus Flaviorum*. The lofty ruins of the Flavian building, with its vast halls, is still one of the most imposing monuments on the Palatine Hill. The great palace of Septimius Severus, between the circus valley and the Appian Way, made another. Mention must also be made of the *Stadium*, perhaps more accurately called the Gardens of Augustus, which has only recently been excavated in its entirety; of the Adonis Gardens, the Septizonium of Severus, the Pædagogium, and a number of temples great and small. Both Odovacar and the Gothic King Theodoric took up their residence upon this regal hill.

The eleventh region, the **Circus Maximus,** is also defined and circumscribed by its name; for, apart from the circus, it comprised only a small portion of the city lying to the north-west. The exact boundaries are: the Tiber, from the Servian *Porta trigemina* (a little to the north, below Sta. Sabina) as far as the *Forum boarium;* then the outside of the circus and the north-east slope of the Aventine. On the eastern and narrower side of the *Circus Maximus* stood, until the late Middle Ages, a triumphal arch which, according to an inscription reported in the Einsiedeln Itinerary, had been erected in honour of the Emperors Vespasian and Titus, to commemorate the subjugation of the Jews and the destruction of Jerusalem. This gigantic circus, once so full of life, is now one of the most ruined and unrecognisable of all the ancient monuments. In the broad expanse before us imagination finds it difficult to evoke even a glimpse of its faded glories. The stretch of waste land, desolate and dishonoured, seems to stand in flagrant contradiction to its pristine splendour, of which ancient writers tell so much. The Emperor Constantine restored and beautified this circus and, according to Cassiodorus, public games were held here even in the sixth century. In the northern division of this eleventh region lay the Velabrum, that is, the wide valley below the Palatine, where the church of St. George *in Velabro* was erected at an early date, taking its name from its situation. Constantine had already built in this valley a large marble hall, the so-called *Ianus quadrifrons.* Thanks to this hall and the venerable church, as well as to the Cloaca Maxima, which here enters the Tiber, an air of hoary antiquity pervades the whole spot, and consoles us for the ravaged *Circus Maximus.*

123. The name of the twelfth region was **Piscina publica**, from a pond which existed from time immemorial in the hollow lying between the Servian Wall and the Baths of Caracalla. The district was bounded by the Appian Way, by the road leading to the *Porta Ostiensis* and by the Aurelian Wall from the gate last named to the *Porta Appia*. These Baths of Caracalla, at present the biggest thermal ruins in Rome, formed the chief point of interest in this region. The Constantine Catalogue includes in this district a *Domus Cillonis*. The house of this favourite of Septimius Severus, which also appears in the fragments of the Severian plan, was identified with tolerable certainty in 1884 in the outbuildings of Sta. Balbina. The station of the fourth cohort of guards (*vigiles*) mentioned in the catalogue may, by inscriptions, be shown to have been situated near the church of St. Saba, on the pleasant hill opposite St. Prisca's.

The thirteenth region is the last upon the left bank of the Tiber. It was called **Aventinus**, from the hill upon which it was largely situated. Its boundaries were the Aurelian Wall, from the *Porta Ostiensis* to the Tiber; then the river up to the *Porta trigemina;* after this the north-western and north-eastern slopes of the Aventine, and finally the road leading back to the *Porta Ostiensis*. The celebrated Temple of Diana stood on the crest of the Aventine, for which reason the poet Martial calls this hill Diana's Mount. The much-disputed Temple of *Iupiter dolichenus* seems also to belong to this neighbourhood. All along the level ground adjoining the river were wharves and warehouses for the sea-borne trade of the metropolis. Though the situation of this ancient emporium had been known long before, it is only since 1883 that it has been opened up almost in its entirety. The ancient salt stores were also quite near the *Porta trigemina*. Strange to say, this spot served for the storage of salt all through the Middle Ages, and even later, the name of Salaria vecchia still recalling one of the oldest edifices in this region of Rome. In old days there was here a special wharf for the marble trade, the so-called *Marmorata*.

Note to Ill. 36.—Drawn by the painter Tabanelli after a photograph of the monument in its present state, and after PETERSEN, *Die Marcussäule*. The two statues demanded by Petersen, as well as the relievo work on the pedestal and the gallery in the background, have been added. The relief in the third section from below of the band which winds round the column represents the famous intervention of Jupiter Pluvius, from which arose the legend of the Thundering Legion.



Ill. 36.—Column of Marcus Aurelius.

In 1867 no less than 493 blocks of marble—some rough-hewn and some worked—were found embedded here in the river sand, not a few being of great value. The Æmilian Portico was devoted to the corn trade. Enormous stores of corn, wine, oil, and other foodstuffs were piled up here in numberless *horrea*, or warehouses. Among these the *horrea Galbiana* continued in use until quite late in the Middle Ages. Sixteen names of warehouses, believed to have been situated in this neighbourhood, have come down to us. Other names, such as *Porticus fabaria*, *Vicus frumentarius*, *Ansarium* (custom-house), all of which belonged to this region, clearly prove this spot to have been the centre of trade and business.

The fourteenth district, called **Transtiberim**, was the only one on the right bank of the river, and comprised all its inhabited territory, as well as the Tiber island. It stretched north as far as the Gardens of Domitia. The Janiculus and the Vatican belonged to it as far as their summits. Being so close to the river it shared in the trade of the thirteenth region on the opposite bank. Big warehouses lined the quays, and business men had offices close at hand. The extent of the traffic may be gauged by the accumulation of broken amphoræ. The church of San Francesco in Ripa is wholly built upon these fragments. At the same time a brisk retail trade was carried on in the narrow, densely populated streets of the region. A great many Jews had settled among these mariners, dyers, potters, and other small dealers. Indeed the Jewish ghetto continued to be situated in the Trastevere even during the Middle Ages. It is highly probable that this quarter formed the starting-point of early Christianity in Rome. So dense was the population of this region that the Constantinian Catalogue assigns to it seventy-eight *vici* (streets, or groups of streets). The eleventh district, which stands next in point of population, had not even half the number, having only thirty-five.

The gem of the fourteenth district, and indeed of the whole city, was the garden-crowned summit of the Janiculus, commanding an extensive view. "Here," says Martial, "thou canst gaze down with delight upon the seven sovereign hills —here thou dost perceive the grandeur of Rome."[1]

[1] *Epig.*, 4, No. 64.

The So-called Wonders of Rome and its Neighbourhood

124. Towards the close of classic times seven Wonders were pointed out at Rome. Polemius Silvius, in the fifth century, is the first to mention them.

He gives the first place to the above-mentioned heights of the Janiculus, with their luxuriant gardens and wide, varied prospects. At the end of his booklet, *Quae sint Romae* (mentioned on p. 144), he writes: "Among all these things seven objects stand forth prominently as Wonders: the Janiculus, the drains, the aqueducts, Trajan's Forum, the Amphitheatre (Coliseum), the Odeum, and the Baths of Antoninus (Caracalla).[1]

For the purpose of this history it will suffice to say a few words of one or other of these structures extolled as Wonders. For this purpose we select the Janiculus, the aqueducts, and the Baths of Caracalla.

The pleasure-grounds on the Janiculus, vaunted by ancient authors for their beauty and extent, consisted of "Cæsar's Gardens," stretching up from the south to the *Via Aurelia* and gate of the same name, then the adjoining "Gardens of Geta" on the north, and finally the "Gardens of Agrippina" in the Vatican quarter. In the latter Nero built his circus, which became famous through the martyrdom of the first generation of Roman Christians. Throughout these gardens the charms of nature and of art were lavishly combined. Within tasteful forests stood other forests of statuary. Huge reservoirs, like the one recently unearthed near the Aurelian Gate, supplied the fountains and Nymphæa, which, with their rippling spray, enlivened and refreshed the flower-bedecked terraces and verdant slopes. The Trajan Aqueduct poured into the centre of these gardens the water it had brought down from the Sabatinian lake (lago di Bracciano). The stream thence made its way to the Tiber by a picturesque fall, the fall supplying the motive-power to a number of busy mills. These mills are mentioned by Procopius. The Einsiedeln Itinerary has left us the ancient name of the neighbourhood as *ad molinas*, and, indeed, paper-mills and corn-mills exist here to-day. The Acqua Paola, which sets them in motion, is a revival of the Trajan Aqueduct, and even flows for

[1] "*Inter quae omnia VII. sunt mira praecipue, id est Ianicolum*," &c. (ed. Mommsen, p. 545).

a part of its course over the ancient arches. The splendid water-tower erected by Paul V. is a fit and worthy reminder of the ancient classical Wonder.

On this breezy height the reader, who, perhaps at the cost of some fatigue, has wandered with us through the fourteen regions, will be glad to follow Martial's invitation and enjoy the vast panorama presented by the environs of the Queen of the Earth.

125. The spectator sees on the right the Lepinian and Volscian mounts, which slope down towards the plain by the sea. His gaze will linger on the valley of the river Trerus (Sacco), traversed by the *Via Latina*. At the northern entrance to this valley, at the foot of the hills, his eyes will be arrested by the white walls of the town of Prænestе (Palestrina), where the Temple of Fortuna is seated on a hill above a succession of stately terraces. Beyond the heights of Prænestе the Simbruinian mountains of Sublaqueum (Subiaco) are prominent, and remind the Christian pilgrim of the sixth and seventh centuries and of the works and wonders of St. Benedict, the father of monasticism in the West, whose rule is still followed in the monastery hard by. Farther to the left, the eye lights upon the little township of Tibur (Tivoli), lying on a sunny hill, with its famous Temple of Hercules at the very top. The hill here again has been likewise laid out in majestic terraces. In the background, in the direction of Sabina, *Mons Lucretilis* (Monte Gennaro) rears its stern head fringed by craggy rocks; it is the highest point in the neighbourhood. A little below it stand the *Montes Corniculani*, where Corniculum (Monticelli or Monte Celio), with a temple on its breezy summit, sits enthroned. Finally, still farther to the left, the winding Tiber enters into the varied landscape, whilst beyond it, in a line with Monte Mario, stands the lonely, lofty peak of Monte Soracte, with its Temple of Apollo. Virgil described the Apollo of this mountain as "Highest of the gods," the "Guardian of the sacred heights." Christians, however, pointing to this mountain, were wont, as far back as the sixth century, to recount how Silvester, the saintly Bishop of Rome, had there sought a refuge during persecution, and how later, loaded with honours, he had baptized the Emperor Constantine at Rome. Even at that early period pious legend was already busy with these famous heights.[1]

[1] *Æn.*, 11, v. 785. *Liber pont.* (ed. DUCHESNE), 1, 170, *Silvester*, No. 34: "*Hic exilio fuit in monte Soracten*," &c. Cp. DUCHESNE, 1, p. cix.–cxx. The Congregation instituted

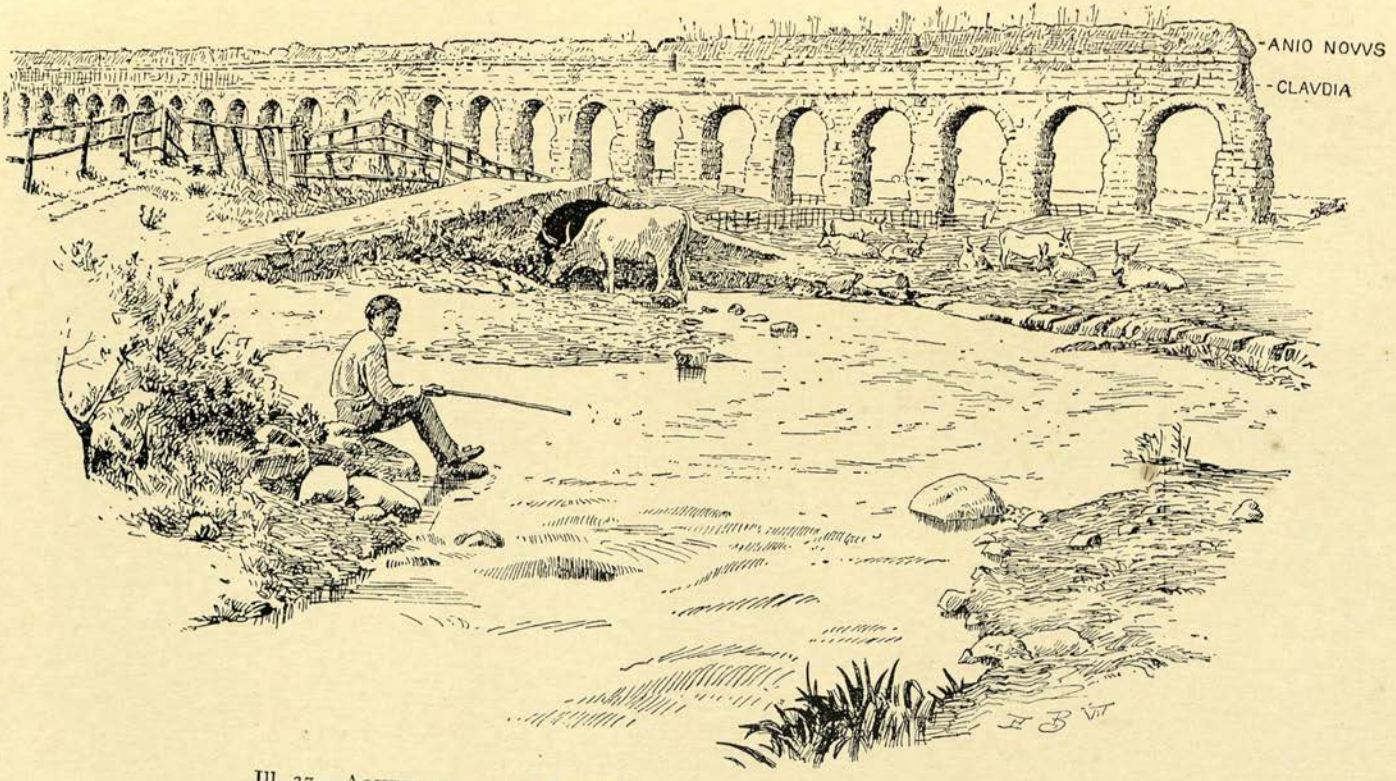
Reverting to the right, the spectator's eye dwells upon the slopes of the Alban hills basking in the sun. They seem like so many gems inserted among these mountain ranges. High above them rises Monte Cavo, the venerable mount where dwelt the ancient tribe of the *Cabenses* or *Cavenses*. From here the federal shrine raised by the Latin cities to *Iupiter Latialis* looks down upon Rome and Latium.[1]

126. All along the circuit of the Alban heights the white walls of Imperial villas flash out amidst the verdure, luxurious precursors of the modern villas now scattered over this region. These Imperial residences can still be traced in Albano, Castel Gandolfo, and Frascati, a town which grew out of Domitian's villa there. On the hill above this villa stood the celebrated ancient Tusculum; Cicero's villa was, however, lower down, probably at Grotta-ferrata. The luxurious splendours of these Imperial structures and of the private villas had doubtless, in the fifth and sixth centuries, already fallen a prey to the northern invaders. Roaming at will over the Campagna, these rich dwellings would naturally be the first to suffer from their love of plunder and destruction.

There was a time when these villas were not confined to the hills, but covered the whole plain up to the city walls. The present bleak stretch of country between the mountains and Rome was then thickly studded with them. Their gardens and pastures were bountifully supplied with water, both from the hills and from branches of the aqueducts. In the palmy days of the Empire, by dint of incredible efforts during several centuries, and with the help of thousands of slaves, the originally barren Campagna had been transformed into a habitable and fertile district. Later, owing to ravage caused by the constant migration of the nations, it was no longer possible to give to the land the care it required, and the broad plain relapsed into its normal state of desolation. Excavations up to the present day have, however, demonstrated that at almost any point in this wilderness remains can be found of former human industry and of buildings which once existed, whether in the form of walls,

by Benedict XIV. in 1741 for the correction of the Breviary, demanded the suppression of the lessons for the Feast of St. Silvester and for that of the Dedication of the Lateran. BATIFFOL, *Histoire du bréviaire*, 2e éd., p. 310, 311, from the *Analecta iuris pontificii*, 24 (1885), 644 ff., 892 ff., and the Acts of the Congregation in the Roman *Bibliot. Corsiniana*, cod. 361 to 363.

[1] Inscription of the Cavenses in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, XIV., No. 2228. MOMMSEN, *Bullett. dell' instit. archeol.*, 1861, p. 206.

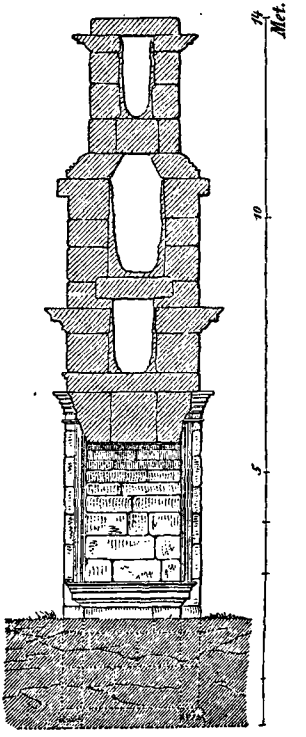


Ill. 37.—Aqueduct in the Roman Campagna with Two Channels for the Aqua Claudia and Anio Novus.

drains, and paved roads, or of marble fragments and statuary from the patrician villas.

As seen from the Janiculus, the Roman military roads, stretching on all sides across the plain, and bordered by sepulchral monuments, must have presented a rare spectacle. They invited the sightseer's fancy to follow their course to far-distant lands, and to realise the dominating power of that unique city, before which all nations bowed.

This network of roads was intersected by numerous and sometimes lofty aqueducts, the majesty of which we can even now picture to ourselves by viewing their melancholy ruins. They were particularly numerous in the high ground to the south-east of Rome, most of them hailing from mountains lying in that same direction. (Ill. 37.)[1]



Ill. 38.—AQUEDUCT CARRYING THE AQUA MARCIA, TEPULA, AND JULIA (as seen in section).

127. These **Aqueducts**, another of the Wonders of Rome, were structures built of peperino or brick, in series of lofty arches, above which the water flowed through carefully covered polished conduits. There were sometimes not only two, but even three conduits, one above the other, supplying water from different sources and of different quality (Ill. 38).

The classical writer Frontinus, in his treatise, *De aquaeductibus*, reckons seven city aqueducts already in existence at the time of Augustus—the *Aqua Marcia*, *Aqua Tepula*, *Aqua Iulia*, all three entering Rome together beside the Tiburtine Gate (Ill. 39); the *Appia*, the *Alsietina*, the *Virgo*, and the *Anio Vetus*. As regards the two latter, which in some respects were the most important of all, the *Virgo*, or Virgin, obtained its name from the purity and excellence of its water. Outside of Rome this old aqueduct survived in almost perfect preservation, mainly because its course was in large part underground.

[1] LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome*, 1888, p. 58. This picturesque spot is in the neighbourhood of the Latin Way, to the south-east of Rome.

Again put into repair, the Acqua Vergine now supplies Rome with water reputed to be the best in the city. It comes from the present hamlet of Salone, to the east of Rome, at the eighth milestone on the *Via Collatina*, where Agrippa, the builder of the aqueduct, was the first to unite the different springs on the property of Lucullus.[1]

While the *Virgo* was reserved for the *Campus Martius*, the other aqueduct, named *Anio Vetus*, was destined for the Esquiline. This great aqueduct was constructed in 272 B.C. The water took its rise from the left bank of the river Anio, about ten miles beyond Tibur, among the heights dominating the present village of San Cosimato.[2]

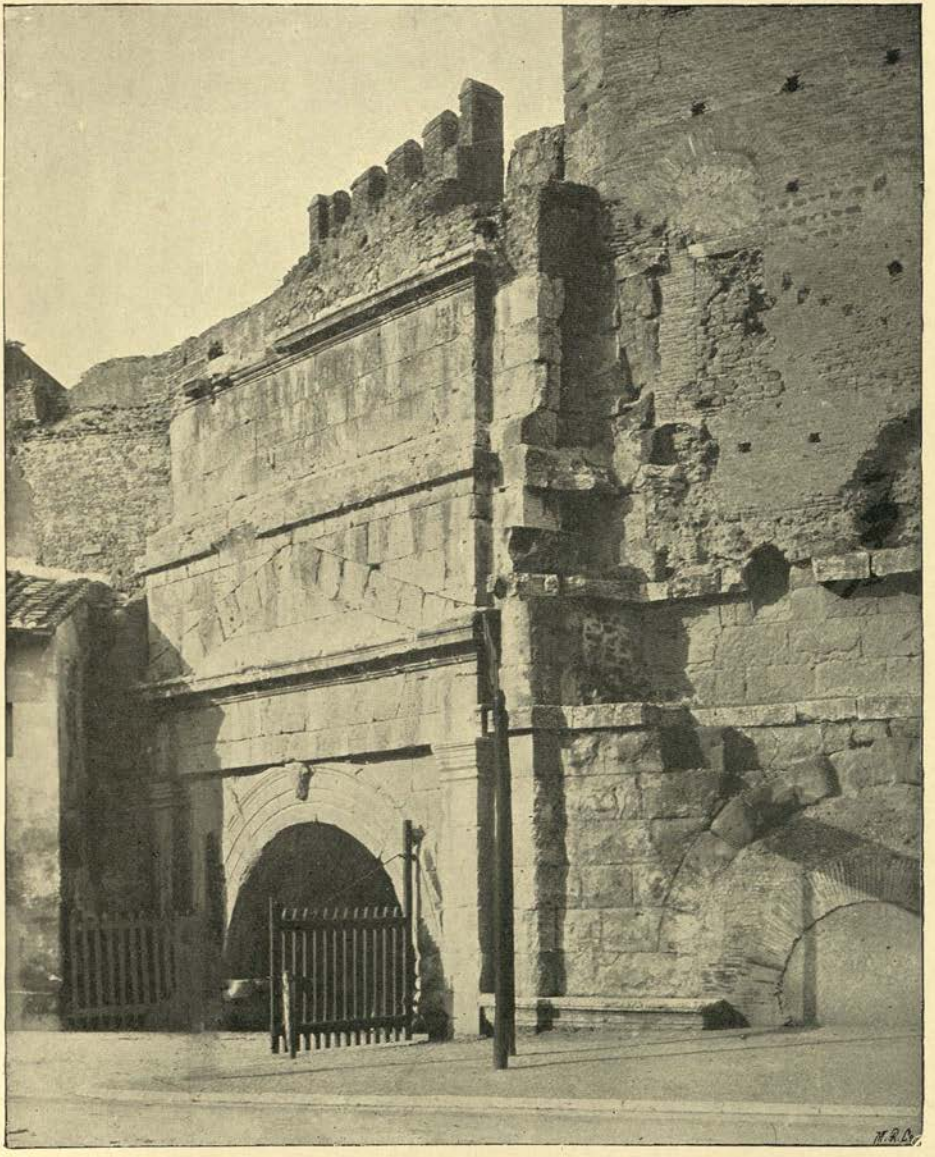
According to Frontinus, during the reigns of Caligula and Claudius, two more aqueducts, the largest of all, were built, being the *Anio Novus* and the *Aqua Claudia*, both from the mountains of Subiaco. Two others, the *Aqua Traiana* and the *Alexandrina*, came still later; the former we have already spoken of in dealing with the Janiculus; the *Alexandrina* was built by Alexander Severus, primarily to supply his baths on the *Campus Martius*. Though old lists reckon more than the eleven we have just named, yet there never existed more than eleven independent aqueducts, *i.e.* deriving their water from separate sources.

Up to a recent date many writers had been led astray either by Procopius, who mentions fourteen aqueducts, or by the Constantinian Catalogue, which even speaks of nineteen. The mistake arose through counting the arms into which the main aqueducts divide. Such an arm was, for instance, the *Aqua Severiana*, or *Septimiana*, brought by Septimius Severus to his Thermæ; the *Aqua Antoniniana*, brought by the Emperor Antoninus Caracalla to his famous baths on the Appian Way, is another instance in point.

[1] FRONTINUS, *De aquaeductibus urbis Romae*, I., c. 10: "*(Agrippa) in agro Lucullano collectam Romam perduxit. . . . Concipitur Virgo via collatina ad miliarium octavum.*" Cp. FABRETTI, *De aquis et aquaeductibus veteris Romae*, 2. ed., Pl. I., III. and p. 160; and especially LANCIANI: *I commentarii di Frontino intorno le acque*, &c. (p. 121).

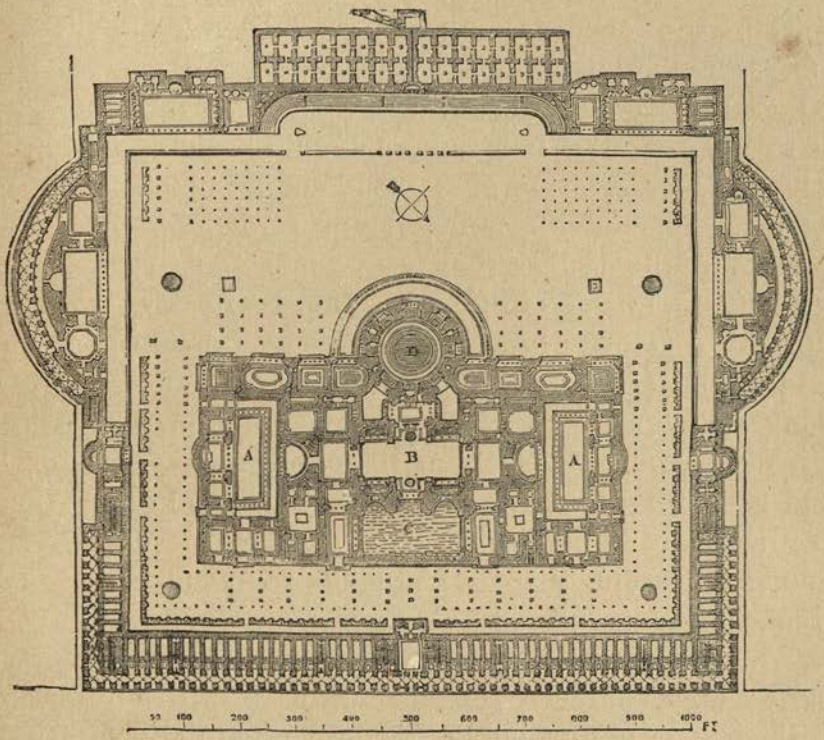
[2] FRONTINUS, *De aquaeductibus*, I., c. 4 ff.: "*concipitur supra Tibur vicesimo miliario extra portam . . .*" Cp. FRONTINUS, 2, c. 66, 80, 90 ff.

Note to Ill. 39.—New photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani. At the crown of the arch of Augustus is the bull's head (cp. Ill. 15). Above the latter is the (now walled up) passage or specus of the *Aqua Marcia*. Above this are the two openings of the *Tepula* and *Julia*. Above the whole are the mediæval battlements. To the right over the arch of Marcia is a flanking-tower of the Emperor Honorius with a more recent superstructure.



Ill. 39.—The Tiburtine Gate (Porta S. Lorenzo) with the Three Aqueducts.
(Seen from within.)

The supply in the main aqueducts was usually so copious that such diversions could take place on a large scale. At the same time it would be hopeless to seek, whether within or without Rome, for the conduit into which the Greek Procopius gravely states that a man could enter on horseback, so great was its height inside. Any one viewing the present openings into the largest aqueducts of Rome or the Campagna can see that a man indeed might make his way through some of them ;



Ill. 40.—THE BATHS OF CARACALLA.

Ground plan. The halls, AA, are supposed to have been palæstræ ; B, the central hall ; C, the uncovered Frigidarium with a bathing pool ; D, the Caldarium or steam-bath.

as for the horse, it is a creation of Greek fancy. Some parts where the height is greater were so contrived for technical reasons.

128. The lengthy Antonine Aqueduct, leading to the famous Baths of Caracalla on the Appian Way, was later to be called the *Iovia*, having been restored by the Emperor Diocletian, who had borrowed his name from Jove. The Baths of Caracalla required an enormous supply of water. This is evident from the great depressions between the halls of these Thermæ, now in hopeless

ruin. The large spaces called respectively the *Caldarium* (Ill. 40, D), *Tepidarium* (B), and the *Frigidarium* (C), look like the beds of so many lakes. There were, moreover, private baths, to say nothing of the fountains. Olympiodorus states that the Baths of Caracalla contained no less than sixteen hundred marble stools for the bathers. This large number corresponded with the vast scale of these buildings, but it was far exceeded in the later Thermæ of Jovius Diocletianus in the sixth region—*Alta Semita*—which was provided with nearly twice as many stone seats.[1]

Nowhere, however, were the Baths of Caracalla surpassed in the number and value of their works of art. We have elsewhere alluded to the classical discoveries made on this spot. Let it suffice to say that the two huge fountain-basins in front of the Farnese Palace, each formed of a single block of Egyptian granite more than eighteen feet long, were dug out from these Thermæ. In themselves they are sufficient to give an idea of the extravagant luxury of the decorations. Besides specimens of the purest classic taste brought hither from other places, the halls of these baths (A, A, and elsewhere) contained many works belonging to Caracalla's own debased period. At that epoch it had already become the fashion to impress the spectator by the size and value of the material and the technical difficulties overcome rather than by purity and ideal beauty of form.

Among the productions of Caracalla's time must be reckoned the great mosaic pavement, depicting eight and twenty naked boxers, which at present covers the floor of a gallery in the Lateran Museum. This characteristic work transports the observer to a scene which was highly appreciated in the third-century Pagan baths. The Thermæ are known to have been not mere baths, but resorts for every form of pleasure. All who sought amusement or sport were wont to assemble there. These brutal boxing matches were a huge attraction to the Roman; in its own repulsive way the mosaic reflects the prevalent degradation of taste and morals, nowhere more aptly expressed than in these games. The boxers portrayed are uncouth, coarse fellows, nevertheless it was thought fit to immortalise them, and even to hand down their names to future Romans.

The variety of halls for wrestling and other matches, and for sports and conversation, may be gathered from the size of the

[1] OLYMPIODORUS in PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 80, ed. BEKKER, p. 63.

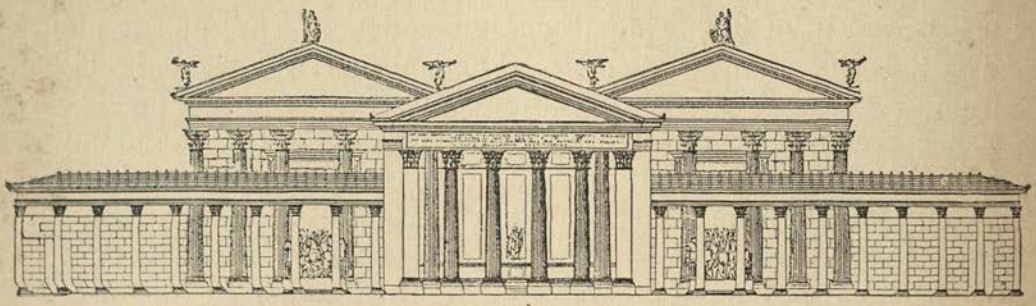
whole structure. The Baths of Caracalla form a square of which each side measures 1082 feet.

129. Besides these the Constantinian Catalogue enumerates ten other Thermæ. Among them, in addition to those noted already in their respective regions, we have the Baths of Trajan in the third region, not far from the ecclesiastical *Titulus Equitii* (SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti); those of Sura and of the Emperor Decius in the thirteenth region on the Aventine, and finally those of the Emperor Commodus in the first region. These baths enjoyed such an abundance of water, all brought from a great distance, that the contrast offered by mediæval Rome seems almost incredible. We may recall that in old days, according to the Constantinian Catalogue, the aqueducts had to supply (apart from Thermæ and private houses)—856 public baths (*balinea*), 1352 fountains (*lacus*), 15 *nymphaea* (with water jets), and five lakes (*naumachiae*, in which ships could practise warfare). During mediæval times, on the contrary, the aqueducts had been cut and their supplies dispersed; people had to be content with Tiber water, or with such as the springs and fountains of the city itself could offer. Lack of water was the principal reason why during the Middle Ages the hilly parts of the city were gradually deserted, the Romans crowding together in narrow streets on the level ground near the Tiber. It was not until the Popes restored some of the ancient aqueducts that this want was made good, and the water-sellers—who used to perambulate the mediæval city loudly crying their wares—ceased to ply their trade.

130. During mediæval times the larger part of Rome was situated amidst the magnificent ancient buildings of the *Campus Martius*, and the numerous grand porticoes occupying the level ground. Classical colonnades were altered into dwelling-houses. We have here another sharp and very characteristic contrast between the grandeur of antiquity and the poverty of subsequent centuries. The ancient vast porticoes of Rome with their shady walks, their works of art, and their temples were indeed a magnificent sight. One of the most notable was the Portico of Octavia, comprising two temples (Ill. 41). Polemius Silvius should have had no hesitation in reckoning the porticoes among the "Wonders" of the metropolis. With their agreeable shelter they were to be found everywhere in Rome, but on the level

ground, in the region of the *Campus Martius*, they were even more sumptuous than elsewhere, and numbered no less than fourteen.

Under the Emperors Valentinian, Gratian, and Theodosius part of the colonnades in the vicinity of the Tiber were joined together, so as to form one long alley of porticoes, the *Porticus Maximae*. Thanks to this combination of porticoes, one could walk without leaving shelter from the Theatre of Marcellus to



Ill. 41.—The Portico of Octavia.
Reconstruction.[1]

the *Pons Ælius;* that is, from the modern Piazza Montanara to the Ponte Sant' Angelo—in other words, across nearly one-half of the city. This colossal avenue of columns was fittingly closed by a triumphal arch, erected by the three Emperors just mentioned. This stood near the Ælian Bridge, beside the present church of San Celso, and the author of the Einsiedeln Itinerary has preserved its inscription for our benefit.[2]

131. In conclusion, to quote a few figures which afford an idea of the number of grand edifices at Rome. According to the official catalogue of the fourth century which we have so often quoted, the fourteen regions together contained 11 Forums, 10 (secular) basilicas, 28 public libraries, of which, however, only 7 are known by name; 290 (or, according to Polemius Silvius, 300) public warehouses or bazaars, and besides 46,102 tenement houses (*insulae*), and 1790 palaces (*Domus*).

We nowhere find mention of the exact number of inhabitants,

[1] Canina, *Edifici di Roma antica*, ii. tav. 138; cp. Schneider, *Das alte Rom*, Pl. 9, No. 15. The middle arcade is still partly in preservation, and the same is true of several columns of the right and left wings. In the background are seen the Temples of Jupiter and Juno, once shut in by this arcade.

[2] De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae*, 2, 1, p. 22, No. 16; cp. p. 38, No. 1. *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1184. According to the *Itinerary*, the inscription was "*in arcu proximo ponte Petri*" (sic), and told of the arch being erected: "*ad concludendum opus omne porticuum maximarum.*" Cp. Stevenson, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1892, p. 23 ff.

and as all data for forming a reliable opinion are wanting, it is natural that wide divergence of views upon the subject should exist. Justus Lipsius estimated the city population under the Emperors at four millions. Isaac Vossius even speaks of fourteen millions. Such suggestions must really be relegated to the domain of fancy. It would seem too low an estimate, however, to place the number, as subsequent scholars have done, at half a million, or even at eight hundred thousand, a figure based upon calculations from the annona and other pretended sources of information. There is every probability that during the first three centuries of the Empire the population exceeded a million souls. We must remember the vast size of the buildings for public entertainment, and the almost incredible number of the actual seats they contained, as well as the masses of people streaming from all sides to this heart of the Roman world, and anxious for their share in its culture, its trade, and its amusements; nor must we forget the swarms of slaves kept by the wealthy at their mansions.[1]

The population of Rome was nevertheless very unevenly distributed throughout the regions. The nobility chose different neighbourhoods from the common people. In this connection it is interesting to observe the number of mansions (*domus*) in proportion to other private or tenement houses (*insulae*) in each region. From statements in the Constantinian Catalogue we can gather positively that mansions were far more numerous in the neighbourhoods farthest removed from the centre of the city. It is clear that the aristocracy had principally settled on the Aventine; there were, however, many who preferred to parade their pomp in the region of the *Circus Flaminius*. The Esquiline and the Quirinal, respectively, stand third and fourth. To give figures, in the thirteenth region there was 1 mansion to every 19 *insulae;* in the ninth, 1 to every 20; in the fifth, 1 to 21; in the sixth, 1 to 22; and in the rest only one to considerably higher numbers.[2]

[1] BELOCH (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, Leipzig, 1886), p. 392 ff., inclines to 800,000 as the approximate number. LANCIANI (*Roma antica e Londra moderna*, in the *Nuova antologia di Roma*, 1883, 2, 263 ff.) was in favour of an estimate of 2,000,000, basing his calculation on topographical grounds. In his *Ruins and Excavations* (p. 92 ff.), he mentions the computations of WIETERSHEIM (1,500,000), MARQUARDT (1,600,000), and FRIEDLÄNDER (a million in the first, two millions in the second century). SEECK (*Gesch. . . . der antiken Welt*) accepts the latter number as correct for the close of the Empire.

[2] LANCIANI, *Ricerche sulle XIV. regioni urbane* (*Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1890, p. 125). For the numbers of *domus* and *insulae*, where any doubt or difference exists, this author takes a figure midway between that of the *Notitia* and that of the *Curiosum*. Cp. ibid., p. 118.

In the fifth century, speaking of these mansions, or at least of the larger ones, Olympiodorus writes: "The larger Palaces contain everything that is to be found in a moderate-sized town —a hypodrome (*i.e.* a large garden of peculiar shape); also forums, squares, temples, fountains, and several baths." He opines that the words of another writer might aptly be applied to these palaces: "Each house is a city, and the [whole] city contains a thousand towns."[1]

After this we can understand how the rhetor Themistius, in his address to the Emperor Gratian, was able to exclaim: "The grand and glorious City of Rome is a thing immeasurable; she lies before us as an ocean of beauty, baffling all description."[2]

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132. When the Emperor Constantius came to Rome accompanied by the Persian Prince Hormisdas, and its buildings and monuments were shown him—fifty-four years previous to Alaric's advent—Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that the monarch was overwhelmed and almost petrified with admiration.[3]

He was more impressed by Trajan's Forum than by any other building, and, indeed, if we may credit the early descriptions, this Forum must have been the culminating point of Rome's splendour, and the crowning effort of its architecture. Cassiodorus, in the sixth century, says: "Feast thine eyes upon it so long as thou wilt, it will never cease to be a marvel," yet at the time when Cassiodorus knew it, it had already been shorn of much of its splendour. Like other public edifices in the city at that time, Trajan's Forum, despite repeated restoration, was already struggling with decay.[4]

At the time of Constantius, however, its unimpaired grandeur far otherwise impressed all who approached it. The Emperor's eye must have roved over the *Basilica Ulpia*, radiant with marble and gold, and towering in the centre of the Forum above a whole

[1] OLYMPIODORUS in PHOTIUS, l.c., p. 63. URLICHS, p. 49 (*ὑπόδρομον, φόρους* κτλ.). The verse quoted: "*Est urbs una domus, mille oppida continet una urbs*," and in the original: *Εἷς δόμος ἅστυ πόλει· πόλις ἅστεα μυρία κεύθει.*

[2] *Orat.*, 13.

[3] Lib. 16, c. 10, ed. GARDTHAUSEN (1874), p. 94.

[4] CASSIODORUS, *Var.*, 7, No. 6, ed. MOMMSEN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Auctt. antiq.*, t. XII.), p. 205. "*Traiani forum vel sub assiduitate videre, miraculum est.*" Most likely the anonymous author of the marvellous stories introduced into the *Vita S. Gregorii*, written by Paulus Diaconus, belongs to the tenth century. In c. 27 he says of Trajan's Forum: "*Forum, quod opere mirifico constat esse constructum.*"

forest of granite columns. His fascinated gaze must have followed the spirals of the marble column standing in front and bearing Trajan's effigy aloft at a dizzy height. Viewing the Forum and its surroundings he may well have declared that this work, unique in the whole world, deserved the admiration of Heaven itself; that it was hopeless to think of emulating such a structure; that Fame, though prone to exaggerate things at a distance, had, so far as Rome was concerned, fallen short of the reality. Only one thing, he added, disappointed him at Rome; that was, that even there men are mortal.[1] The reader must, however, bear in mind that luxury was chiefly confined to the public buildings. The condition of the private houses was less satisfactory than we should be inclined to suppose. The streets were mostly narrow and dirty, and the tenement houses were frequently high and overcrowded.[2]

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133. And yet the glories of Pagan Rome must have roused in the mind of a thoughtful Christian a feeling of sadness as well as of admiration. He would remember with sorrow and concern that the brilliant city was a dreadful moral wilderness, and that the denizens of these palaces were sadly tormented by the thought of death and of their own spiritual helplessness. Barthold Georg Niebuhr, who knew ancient Rome so well, says: "In conjuring up the life of that epoch we cannot, in spite of our admiration, repress a shudder. Side by side with great virtue, the most fearful vices, from the earliest times, have had full sway; insatiable ambition, reckless disregard for the rights of others; callous indifference to human suffering; avarice—which later grew into rapacity—and class distinctions, whereby not only slaves and foreigners, but even freemen of the city were treated with inhuman harshness." Under the Empire Rome was the abode of a society of which Theodor Mommsen could write: "At Rome, poverty was no longer the greatest disgrace and the worst crime, but the only one." "For gold," he continues,

[1] In Gardthausen's edition this passage reads: "*id tantum sibi* placuisse *aiebat, quod didicisset, ibi quoque homines mori.*" Ought not one to read *displicuisse?* The Emperor may indeed have meant that he was glad Rome was not to be envied above other places, since even at Rome death was master, but this idea is feeble and out of harmony with the rest.

[2] FRIEDLÄNDER, *Sittengesch.*; GRUPP, *Kulturgesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit.*

"the statesman sold his country, and the citizen his freedom; an officer's commission and the ballot-balls of the jury could equally be had for money; and high-born dames sold themselves as readily as the lowest street girl."[1]

Christianity had come down from Heaven to implant a new moral principle into humanity. After several centuries of effort it had firmly established itself at Rome, and the multitude of churches which had arisen on all sides gave the Pagan city an altered aspect and heralded a new future.

It is now our duty to turn our attention to the number and organisation of the principal centres of Christian worship during the fifth and sixth centuries.

The Oldest City Churches. The Tituli

134. The earliest churches in Rome of which we have any information are the so-called *Tituli*. These were churches in charge of presbyters, to each of whom a portion of the city was assigned, after the manner of our modern parishes, the rest of the clergy of the district depending on this mother-church. In the fifth century five and twenty such "Titles" were already in existence, and this continued to be the normal number, sanctioned by both custom and law. Excepting a few slight alterations it remained unchanged till Calixtus II. (1119–1124) definitively fixed the number of Titles at eight and twenty.[2]

We are not prepared to state with the uncritical author of the *Liber pontificalis* that all the *Tituli* had already been established by the Roman Bishop Evaristus at the beginning of the second century—the progress of the Church of Rome was less rapid than he supposed; but in the fifth century their existence is guaranteed by the signatures at the Roman Council of March 1, 499. Among them figure the names both of the churches and of the attendant presbyters, who took part in the Council. Nearly a hundred years later, under Gregory the Great, another

[1] For these passages from Niebuhr and Mommsen, cp. *Historisch-politische Blätter*, 1 (1877), 750 ff.

[2] DUCHESNE, *Notes sur la topographie de Rome au moyen-âge* 2: *Les titres presbytéraux et les diaconies*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 7 (1887), 17 ff. In what follows we have drawn largely on this work.

Council was held on July 5, 595, among the signatures to which we again find mention made of the *Tituli* of the city.[1]

The latter list confirms the earlier, at least the names of twenty-one Titles coincide, whilst the four others of 595 can also with great plausibility be identified with Titles mentioned by the Council of 499."[2]

Waiving all question of detail and making no account of the legendary origin ascribed to these churches, we shall give a list of them, assigning each to the date at which it first appears in history. For this purpose it will be best to group them according to the fourteen regions we have already described. All these Title-churches figure on our plan of Rome.

135. In the **first region,** *Porta Capena,* stood the *Titulus S. Xysti.* It was dedicated to the memory of the famous Pope and martyr of the Catacomb of Callistus at no great distance from this region. This church (San Sisto) makes its first appearance as a Title and under this name at the Council of 595; perhaps it is the same as the otherwise unidentified *Titulus Crescentianae,* mentioned in the Council of 499.[3]

In the **second region,** *Caelimontium,* were two *Tituli,* that of Byzantus or of Pammachius, also known as the Title of SS. John and Paul, after the two illustrious martyrs, whose bodies

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 126, *Evaristus,* No. 6: "*Hic titulos in urbe Roma dividit presbiteris.*" The same author had stated previously under *Cletus* that he had instituted twenty-five presbyters at Rome. We also learn from him that in the sixth century this number was already traditional; thus Pope Urban had twenty-five silver patens made for the station-masses (No. 18). Pope Marcellus (308–309) re-established the twenty-five titles (No. 31: "*XXV tituli in urbe Roma constituit, quasi dioecesis, propter baptismum et paenitentiam*"); Pope Hilary (461–468) also had sacred vessels made to the number of twenty-five, also for the station-services (No. 71). For the Council of 499, see MANSI, *Coll. Concil.*, 8, 235, and THIEL, *Epistolae romanor. pontiff.*, p. 651. The latest edition of this Council is that of MOMMSEN, *Mon. Germ. hist., SS. antiq.*, t. XII. (*Cassiodorus*), p. 399 ff. The Council of 595 is now best consulted in the *Registrum S. Gregorii Magni,* ed. EWALD and HARTMANN (*Mon. Germ. hist., Epistolae,* I, p. 366). Cp. *P. L.*, LXXVII., 1338.

[2] It is true that the Council of 595 mentions only twenty-four churches, but there is no doubt that the missing Basilica of St. Anastasia should be reckoned among the then *Tituli,* since it appears as a Title both before and after Gregory. At this Council only one presbyter signed on behalf of each Title. At the Council of 499, in most instances, several priests signed for each Title, and as the Titles were already known by various names, uncertainty arises as to the list of *Tituli.* There are five Titles in 499 which do not reappear at the Council of 595: those of Matthæus, of Nicomedes, of Crescentiana, of Tigridas, and of Romanus (?). On the other hand, three *Tituli* in existence under Gregory are missing in the earlier Council: those of St. Xystus, SS. Marcellinus and Peter, and St. Balbina. The ingenious conjectures offered by Duchesne for reconciling these discrepancies (*Notes sur la topographie,* l.c., p. 27 ff.) will be incorporated in our text under the respective names of the churches. The statements of Gregorovius, I[4], 258, concerning the Titles, stand in need of correction, and, speaking generally, his information about Christian antiquities is seldom at all reliable.

[3] DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 20, 28.

lay in the mansion. It is first called by the name of Byzantus on an inscription of the time of Innocent I. (401–417); by the name of Pammachius at the Council of 499; and by those of the two martyrs in the *Liber pontificalis* (530).[1] The other Title situate in the region was the church still dedicated to the *Quattuor Coronati*. As far back as the fourth century a church stood here, according to the reliable notice in the so-called Martyrology of St. Jerome. It appears to have been at first called *Titulus Aemilianae*, a name which appears in the Council of 499.[2] In 595 it is described as *Titulus SS. Quattuor Coronatorum*.

In the **third region**, *Isis and Serapis*, four Titles existed. (*a*) The *Titulus Clementis* (San Clemente) is proved by one of his own inscriptions to have been standing here at the time of Pope Damasus (366–384).[3] (*b*) The *Titulus SS. Marcellini et Petri* is first mentioned in 595, and was probably transferred to this church from the neighbouring one of St. Matthew *in Merulana*. Its present name is SS. Marcellino e Pietro.[4] (*c*) The *Titulus Apostolorum*, or *ad vincula S. Petri*, was also called *Titulus Eudoxiae*. It appears first at the Council of Ephesus, where Philip, delegate of the Roman bishop, and one of the presidents, signs himself "Priest of the church of the Apostles." Under Xystus III. (422–440) this church was restored at the expense of the Imperial family of the East, particularly of Eudoxia. It was for the first time called *a vinculis S. Petri* in the *Liber pontificalis* (530). It is still known as San Pietro in Vincoli.[5] (*d*) The *Titulus Equitii*, or *Silvestri*, was erected under Pope Silvester I. by the priest Equitius

[1] See the epitaph of the presbyters Proclinus and Ursus, *tituli Byzanti*, in DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1877, Pl. 3–4; DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 236. For the name *Titulus Pammachii*, cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 150, and also what we have already said (p. 54 ff.) about the mansion of Pammachius. In the *Liber pont.*, under Pope Symmachus, a presbyter, Gordian, is mentioned as belonging to "St. John and St. Paul's" (No. 78).

[2] *Martyrolog. Hieronym.*, 8, Novemb. (*Acta SS.*, tom. II. nov.), p. [141]: "*Ad Celio monte.*" DUCHESNE, *Notes*, p. 21, 28.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1870, p. 148. For further details respecting this Titulus, see below, p. 212 ff.

[4] DUCHESNE, *Notes*, p. 28. The *Titulus Nicomedis* of 499, according to Duchesne, might well be identical with that of St. Matthew *in Merulana* (ibid., p. 29).

[5] MANSI, *Coll. Concil.*, 4, 1303: "*Philippus ecclesiae apostolorum presbyter*" (*Ephesinum*, Sess. 3). Inscription of Xystus III. in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, pp. 112, 134. Also in my *Analecta romana*, 1, 77. In the above-mentioned inscription Philip is alluded to as the builder. Cp. *Martyrol. Hieronym.*, 1, Aug. (*Acta SS.*, l.c.), p. [98]: "*Romae dedicatio ecclesiae a beato Petro constructe et edificate*," as well as my article, *Civiltà catt.*, 1898, III., p. 206.

upon his own property. A good deal of the early structure still remains in the hollow near the present church of SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti.[1]

The **fourth region,** *Templum Pacis*, has no Title to show beyond that of St. Praxedes (Santa Prassede), at a distance from the Forum. The earliest certain allusion to it is found in an epitaph of the year 491.[2]

136. The **fifth region,** *Esquiliae*, also contained one Title, the *Titulus Eusebii* (Sant' Eusebio), which is mentioned in the Martyrology of St. Jerome, and therefore existed in the fifth, and probably even in the fourth century.[3]

The **sixth region,** *Alta Semita*, had four Titles: the *Titulus Vestinae*, later called St. Vitalis, which the noble Roman matron, Vestina, founded under Pope Innocent I. (401–417), now San Vitale;[4] the *Titulus Gai* or *Susannæ*, a church mentioned in the Martyrology of St. Jerome as standing "beside the two mansions adjoining the Thermæ of Diocletian" (Santa Susanna);[5] the *Titulus Cyriaci*, which has disappeared—the first certain mention of it occurs in the Roman Council of 499;[6] and the *Titulus Pudentis* or *Pudentianae* (Santa Pudenziana). This appears indisputably in 384 on the epitaph of a lector *de Pudentiana*.[7]

In the **seventh region,** *Via Lata*, there is only one Title, the *Titulus Marcelli* (San Marcello al Corso). According to the *Liber pontificalis*, this was founded under the Roman Bishop Marcellus (308–309). The church is alluded to in the year 418, in an epistle of Symmachus, Prefect of Rome.[8]

[1] For the establishment of this Title, see *Liber pont.*, *Silvester*, No. 34, with an accurate account of the gifts. [2] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. christ.*, 1882, p. 65.

[3] *Martyrolog. Hieronym.*, 14, Aug. (*Acta SS.*, l.c.).

[4] *Liber pont.*, *Innocentius*, No. 57. The author again quotes all the details of the erecting and furnishing, evidently taking them from the earliest inventory of the church.

[5] *Martyrolog. Hieronym.*, 11, Aug.: "*ad duas domus, iuxta Diocletianas.*"

[6] This church has disappeared since the fifteenth century. For its original site, see LANCIANI, *Forma urbis*, Pl. 10, and our plan of Rome.

[7] Epitaph of the Lector *de Pudentiana* in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 1, 153, No. 347. For the Petrine tradition, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 43, 49 ff. ARMELLINI, *Le Chiese di Roma*[2], p. 192. The Acts of St. Pudentiana, in the form in which we possess them, as well as those of St. Praxedes, are, however, known to be apocryphal. The Congregation appointed by Benedict XIV. in 1741 for the correction of the Breviary, styled the former "*corrupta . . . fabulosa*" and the latter "*parum sincera . . . nulla fide digna.*" See text in *Analecta iuris pontificii*, 24 (1885), 892 ff., from the *Acta*, *Cod. Corsini*, 361–363.

[8] *Liber pont.*, No. 31: "*Lucina vidua . . . domum suam nomine beati Marcelli titulum dedicavit.*" Epistle of Symmachus in BARON., *an.* 418, No. 79. This Title of Marcellus is believed by Duchesne (*Notes*, p. 27) to be the same as the *Titulus Romani*, which is mentioned in 499, where a mistake has manifestly been made; the signature in question should run: *Romanus tituli Marcelli*, instead of *Marcellus tituli Romani.*

The **eighth region**, *Forum Romanum*, contained not a single Title.

137. The **ninth region**, *Circus Flaminius*, possessed three Titles. The *Titulus Lucinae*, or *S. Laurentii in Lucina*, appears already in the history of Pope Damasus, his elevation to the chair of St. Peter having taken place in this church (San Lorenzo in Lucina).[1] Another Title even bears the name of this Pope—*Titulus Damasi*, or *S. Laurentii in Damaso*—because he rebuilt this church, and, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, established it as a Title. Damasian inscriptions confirm this historical character of the church now known as San Lorenzo in Damaso.[2] The last Title belonging to the region was called *Titulus Marci*, because it was founded in 366 by the Pope of this name (San Marco).[3]

The **tenth region**, *Palatium*, had no Title.

The **eleventh region**, *Circus Maximus*, contained one, the *Titulus Anastasiae*, the well-known church at the foot of the Palatine, in the Velabrum. It is mentioned under Damasus, and its baptistery was erected in 403 by the Roman City Prefect Longinianus (Sant' Anastasia).[4]

Two Titles stood in the **twelfth region**, *Piscina publica*. These were, first, the *Titulus Fasciolae*, later called *Titulus SS. Nerei et Achillei*, which appears as a Title in 377 in the epitaph of a lector Cinnamius Opas, and soon after, in 400, in two other inscriptions (SS. Nereo ed Achilleo);[5] secondly, the *Titulus Balbinae*. This is first mentioned in the epitaph of one of its titular presbyters.[6]

[1] *Libellus precum*, &c., Praefatio, No. 2 (*P. L.*, XIII., 82).

[2] *Liber pont., Damasus*, No. 54. Cp. Damasus's inscription concerning the building of a repository for the church archives (see below, p. 205) and the inscription by the same Pope from the apse of the church in question, in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 134, No. 5. Cp. DE ROSSI, l.c., p. 135, 151.

[3] *Liber pont., Marcus*, No. 49: "(*fecit basilicam*) *in urbe Roma iuxta Pallacinis.*"

[4] DUCHESNE, *Sainte Anastasie*, in *Notes sur la topographie*, &c., 3 (*Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1887, p. 387 ff.). An inscription of the fifth century, copied by old epigraphists and thus preserved, allows us to gather that Damasus had had some pictures (frescoes?) executed in St. Anastasia (DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 396). Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1877, p. 8. SARTI, *Append. ad Dionysii Crypt. vatic.*, p. 91 and Pl. 33. For Longinianus, see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 150. DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 394. Cp. my article upon the church of St. Anastasia in the *Analecta Rom.*, t. I., diss. 14.

[5] For Cinnamius Opas, see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 1, 224, No. 262. For the two other inscriptions, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1879, p. 92; 1875, p. 51. For the connection between "Fasciola" and the Petrine traditions, see DE ROSSI, l.c., 1875, p. 55, and ARMELLINI, *Le chiese di Roma*, 2. ed., p. 591. LIPSIUS, *Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1, 416.

[6] For the sixth-century inscription, see DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, III., 515.

There were also two Titles in the **thirteenth region,** *Aventinus*, namely, the *Titulus Sabinae* and the *Titulus Priscae* (S. Sabina, S. Prisca). In the first we can still see the magnificent dedicatory inscription in mosaic, which speaks of the foundation of the church in the pontificate of Celestine (422–432).[1] The name of the second we learn from the epitaph of a presbyter belonging probably to the fifth century. The *Titulus Tigridae*, appearing in the Council of 499, may possibly be a different name for this *Titulus*.[2]

Finally, three *Tituli* fell to the last, or **fourteenth region,** *Transtiberim*, and complete the number of twenty-five. To begin with, there was the *Titulus Iulii*, or *Iulii et Callisti*, sometimes called *S. Mariae* (Sta. Maria in Trastevere). Its founder was Pope Julius (337–352). At this stage we are not at liberty to allude to the origin assigned to this, as well as to other churches, by tradition.[3] Next comes the *Titulus Caeciliae*. This certainly existed in the fourth century, as may be inferred from the so-called Martyrology of St. Jerome (Santa Cecilia).[4] Lastly, the *Titulus Chrysogoni* also stands on the farther side of the Tiber. Setting aside legendary accounts of its origin, it is first cited in the Council of 499 (San Crisogono).[5]

138. These *Tituli*, which by rank and age are among Rome's most hallowed sanctuaries, in spite of many alterations, have survived through all these centuries, with the one exception of the *Titulus Cyriaci*. Even in this case its rank has at least been preserved and transferred to S. Maria in Via Lata. Such was Rome's attachment to her old titular churches. Their maintenance is in large measure due to the ecclesiastical institution of Cardinal Priests, an institution which depends entirely upon the *Tituli*. From the remotest times the cardinals were the holders of the Titles, *i.e.* practically the incumbents of the parishes. Even in the fifth and sixth century they might well have been

[1] Cp. DE ROSSI, *Musaici*, fasc. 3–4. For text, &c., see my *Analecta Romana*, 1, 88, 146. Illustration, ibid., Pl. I., n. 2.

[2] The epitaph is in MARCHI, *Monumenti primitivi*, p. 26. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Notes*, p. 27, 28 (*Tigridae*). For local traditions relating this church with Aquila, Prisca, and Peter the Apostle, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 44 ff., and ARMELLINI, *Chiese*[2], p. 577 ff.

[3] *Liber pont.*, *Iulius*, No. 50.

[4] *Martyrolog. Hieronym.*, 22, Novemb. (*Acta SS.*, l.c.), p. [146]. ARMELLINI, *Chiese*[2], p. 669 ff., and C. ERBES, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 9 (1888), 1 ff., for the connection of this church with St. Cæcilia.

[5] Inscriptions of 521 and 522, with priests of this Title, in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 1, 440, 442, No. 975, 977; *Roma sott.*, III., 519, 522.

styled Roman cardinals in all the force of the word, though this designation had not then come into use.

The very style of the Titles show that these churches possess the distinction of great age. Many, at least at first, did not bear the name of any saint or even of any martyr, but were merely called after their founder, as was usual with secular buildings during classical times. At a later period such designations after the founder, *e.g. Titulus Vestinae, Equitii, Byzanti*, &c., could not have arisen, for, later on, only martyrs, and then, later still, only saints in general, had the privilege of seeing churches named after them. Further, let this be observed: though a number of the ancient Titles had taken their name from a saint, the adjective *Sanctus* was omitted even in the formal description of the churches. For example, in accordance with the most ancient form, we spoke above of the *Tituli Caeciliae, Priscae, Sabinae*, and not *Sanctae Caeciliae*, and so forth. The word "sanctus" in such connection became an indispensable adjunct only after the fifth century. Moreover, other indications lead us to infer that the whole system of titular churches, as it existed in the fifth century, reflected an institution already existing in the fourth and, to some extent, even in the third century.

There are preserved a quite unusual number of allusions to restorations effected in these very churches prior to the fifth century. This would insinuate that these churches had already existed long previously. The choice of situation also speaks in favour of their antiquity. The titular churches held themselves markedly aloof from the centre of Rome, where most of the great sites and monuments of public Pagan life were established, and where forums and temples paraded their splendour. The central regions of the *Forum Romanum* and *Palatium* had not a single Title; the *Templum Pacis* never had but one, the same being true of the *Circus Maximus* with the *Titulus Anastasiae*, and this one was probably erected only on account of the Imperial palace on the Palatine, which had become Christian.[1]

The rest of the *Tituli* must all be sought within a certain radius outside these centres of classical and heathen life. This circumstance allows us to infer that the Roman Church, with the

[1] For particulars of St. Anastasia as the Court church, see later, sections 395–398, on the Christian Palatine; see also the article in the *Analecta Romana*, mentioned above, p. 192, note 4.

wisdom and reserve which have so often distinguished her, refrained from taking advantage of the liberty accorded her by Constantine, and from obtrusively erecting titular churches in the centre of a city still in great measure devoted to idolatry. It seems as though she had from the first avoided choosing these regions for her places of assembly. Had the topographical distribution of the titles taken place in the fifth or sixth century, the arrangement would have been widely different.[1]

Thus all points to the very high antiquity of the Titles. The origin of the name *Titulus* itself, with its classic ring, has never been clearly explained.

In the centre of Rome the absence of titular churches was, however, compensated for by public oratories and chapels, at least from the fourth century; yet it was only in the fifth and sixth century that the Christian Church took actual possession of the central city in the neighbourhood of the *Forum Romanum* by establishing local deaconries. These, as is well known, were centres of Christian works of mercy, distributing the alms, taking care of the sick and needy. It might therefore be said that Christianity first penetrated into the heart of Rome and into that select corner of classicism by means of Christian charity.

The civil government soon handed over public buildings which might serve as churches in connection with the deaconries. SS. Cosmas and Damian is a case in point. This church began in a public hall. So, too, did the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which in the sixth century was established in a portico not far from the *Ara maxima* of Hercules. The further step of appropriating temples was only taken later. In no case can it be proved that any one of the early titular churches began in a public building, let alone a temple.

139. The Titles had doubtless, some of them, been erected in places where the faithful, from the very earliest times, had been wont to unite for the celebration of their liturgy. The Roman Church, even in its official capacity, was in possession of certain recognised places of worship, even before toleration had been granted by Constantine. It is no longer possible to doubt that Christian churches existed in Rome prior to the time of Constantine, though we have no information as to what they were like. They were confiscated during the Diocletian persecution in 303,

[1] DUCHESNE, *Notes*, p. 30.

but, in 311, Galerius gave orders to restore to the Christians "those houses where they had been wont to meet."[1]

They were probably mansions belonging to distinguished persons who gave both their service and their substance to Christianity, and allowed the interior of their vast homes to be adapted to the requirements of the liturgy and of places of assembly.

This circumstance, upon which in recent times stress has rightly been laid, throws an important light upon the outward form of early Roman churches. It enables us better to understand the so-called basilica style, with which we intend dealing elsewhere. Here we shall confine ourselves to observing that Christian basilicas at Rome during the period under and after Constantine can never have struck the inhabitants as something strange or novel, their form being, so to say, a natural outgrowth of Roman soil. In their further development and decoration the basilicas appropriated the best that was provided by the art of the period, and, with their rich designs and ample dimensions, were soon harmoniously blended with the surrounding classical buildings of the city.

City Churches without Parish Titles

140. Within the parishes belonging to the twenty-five titular churches we find, in the fourth and fifth century, a number of other religious edifices which were not Titles.

Among these the first in dignity was the Lateran Basilica, the leading church in every way, because it was the cathedral of the Pope. Next followed the *Basilica Liberii*, now the Basilica S. Maria Maggiore. It was founded by Pope Liberius (352–366) on the Esquiline, near the Macellum of Livia. After having been restored in the following century by Xystus III., it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and received the name of *Basilica S. Mariae*.[2]

[1] EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, VIII., c. 17. Cp. KIRSCH, *Die christlichen Cultusgebäude im Alterthum* (1893), p. 9 ff., also his *Christliche Cultusgebäude in der vorkonstantinischer Zeit*, in *Festschrift . . . des Campo Santo in Rom* (1897), p. 6–20.

[2] *Liber pont., Liberius*, No. 52. The short but reliable statement runs: "*Hic* (*Liberius*) *fecit basilicam nomini suo iuxta macellum Libiae.*" Ibid., *Xystus III.*, No. 63, equally concise and sober: "*Hic* (*Xystus*) *fecit basilicam sanctae Mariae, quae ab antiquis Liberii cognominabatur, iuxta macellum Libiae, ubi et obtulit hoc.*" Here follows a list of rich donations and revenues, which presupposes information such as the chronicler could

Third among the churches which were not Titles came the *Basilica Hierusalem*, or *Basilica Sessoriana*, also *Heleniana*. It owed its origin to Constantine the Great, who founded it in a spacious hall of the ancient *Palatium Sessorianum*, where his mother, Helena, had dwelt. It still exists under the name of S. Croce in Gerusalemme.[1]

In a similar manner the *Basilica S. Andreae* on the Esquiline was begun in an ancient hall near the Liberian Basilica. Its founder was Valila, *Magister militum*, from 471 to 483, and the secular hall had formerly belonged to the distinguished family of the Iunii Bassi. This church, now vanished, was also called *S. Andreas catabarbara*. Among other similar churches belonging to the fourth and fifth century were: (*a*) the *Basilica Iulia*, which, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, Pope Julius built "in the seventh region, nigh the Forum of *divus Traianus*." It was restored (*c.* 561) by Pelagius I. and John III., who dedicated it to the apostles SS. Philip and James; it is now the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles.[2] (*b, c*) The church of St. Stephen and that of St. Bibiana, both due to Pope Simplicius (468–483). He established the former in the ancient *Macellum magnum* on the Cælian,[3] in the second region; the latter was built beside the *Palatium Licinianum* on the Esquiline.[4] Both are still extant. (*d*) This is also the case with the Basilica

only have obtained from church archives, as in other cases quoted above. Neither he nor the following times tell us anything about the well-known mediæval story of the miraculous snow, nor does Xystus III. himself, in his long epigraphic dedicatory poem in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 71, 98, 139, and in my *Analecta Romana*, 1, 77. The Congregation appointed by Benedict XIV. in 1741 for reforming the Breviary, proposed to omit the lessons in the Breviary (August 5) which relate the above miracle of Liberius's time, and to restore to the festival of *S. Maria ad Nives* its early designation, *Dedicatio sanctae Mariae*. The Congregation says: "*Lectiones secundi nocturni, quae hac die usque modo recitatae sunt, immutandas sane esse existimatur. 'De ea solemnitate, quae hac die celebratur, eiusque institutionis causa habentur,' ait Baronius in Martyrologio romano* (ed. Romae, 1630, p. 382), '*vetera manuscripta eius ecclesiae.' Huiusmodi autem monumenta et manuscripta nec unquam vidimus, nec fortasse unquam videbimus.*" The report proceeds to say that it is scarcely credible, "*quod tam novum tamque stupendum prodigium spatio annorum fere mille et amplius profundo sepultum silentio iacuerit.*" *Analecta iuris pontificii*, 24 (1885), 915, from the Acts quoted above, p. 191, note 7. Cp. *Analecta Romana*, 1, *diss.*, 14.

[1] *Liber pont., Silvester*, No. 41: "(*Constantinus*) *fecit basilicam in Palatio Sessoriano, ubi etiam de ligno sanctae crucis Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, &c. . . . *Quae cognominatur usque in hodiernum diem Hierusalem.*" For a plan of the church showing its connection with the ancient *Aula*, see below, Vol. II., sect. 249.

[2] *Liber pont., Iulius*, No. 50; cp. *Catal. liberian.*, ed DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 8. *Liber pont., Pelagius I., Iohannes III.*, No. 109, 110.

[3] *Liber pont., Simplicius*, No. 72. LANCIANI, *L' Itinerario di Einsiedeln*, Pl. 2 and p. 506 ff. He was the first to investigate at all thoroughly this remarkable building.

[4] *Liber pont.*, ibid.: "*dedicavit basilicam intra urbe Roma, iuxta Palatium Licinianum, beatae martyris Bibianae, ubi corpus eius requiescit.*"

of St. Agatha, about which we already know that it traces its origin to Ricimer, the Arian, and was only later on consecrated for Catholic service.[1] (*e*) On the other hand, another church belonging here, the *Basilica Theodorae*, has utterly disappeared, nor can its site be now determined. We only know that it was mentioned in 418.[2]

141. Among our sources of information regarding ancient Rome we mentioned a list of station-churches, dating from the beginning of the seventh century.[3] From this list we add the following churches:—*S. Maria antiqua*, *S. Maria rotunda* (as the Pantheon was known from the beginning of the seventh century), SS. Cosmas and Damian, St. Hadrian (also from first part of seventh century), St. George in the Velabrum, St. Michael the Archangel, very probably identical with the church of SS. Michele e Magno, near St. Peter's, enlarged by Pope Symmachus when the flight of steps was added in front. Finally St. Boniface the Martyr, where, as the list states, "the body of this martyr rests."[4]

These, with those previously described, are the most important churches which can be proved to have existed in those days. They were not Titles, but they stood inside the actual city. Though not parish churches in the same sense as the *Tituli*, each had its cure of souls and its clergy to administer the sacraments and perform Divine service.

Another type of church was the mortuary chapel. These chapels stood outside the city walls and were primarily intended as shrines and monuments to the honour of distinguished martyrs

[1] See plan above, p. 114.

[2] *Relatio Symmachi praefecti ad Honorium augustum*, in BARON., *an.* 418, No. 79. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 228, note 1; and 2, 41, note 61.

[3] See above, p. 145, note 1.

[4] These two churches dedicated to the Blessed Virgin are subordinate to the one on the Esquiline, which already then bore the distinctive title, *S. Maria maior*. *S. Maria rotunda* (Pantheon) and St. Hadrian's certainly belong to the beginning of the seventh century. The church of St. Michael in the Catalogue seems clearly to be the same "Basilica" of which the *Liber pontificalis* says, in the life of Pope Symmachus (498–514), that he widened and provided it with stairs and with water (1, 262, No. 80; DUCHESNE, *Notes*, 36). I know no church of St. Michael to which this could better apply, nor which claims such an early origin as that of SS. Michele e Magno. Cp. ARMELLINI, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 770. The inscription ascribing the church to Leo III. or Leo. IV. is a fabrication, dating, perhaps, from the eleventh century. See DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones christianae*, 2, 1, p. 278. Later, the Lateran, too, was endowed with a church dedicated to the Archangel. The Basilica of St. Boniface is the present church of Sant' Alessio, but at that date there is no allusion to St. Alexius or his tomb, still less to the mediæval legend of this saint; yet the above-quoted authority expressly states, with reference to the other saint: "*basilica Bonifacii martyris ubi ipse dormit.*"

belonging to the Roman Church. These *basilicae coemeteriales* formed a series of sanctuaries, many of them famous, under the control of the ecclesiastical authorities of the city.

Extra-Mural Churches

142. As, according to Roman Law, the dead were to be buried outside the city, we must seek the resting-places of the early Christian martyrs outside its walls. Even before Constantine, many oratories or *cellae* had been erected above ground over the graves of martyrs in the Catacombs. Constantine himself had, however, erected splendid basilicas at the points in the suburbs to which Christian Romans had been wont to flock for the veneration of their saints. The two tombs of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, were singled out by the Emperor for special honour, though he also built basilicas for St. Lawrence, St. Agnes, and SS. Marcellin and Peter.[1] The first four basilicas owe their origin to the prominence of the martyrs to whom they were dedicated, all four being highly venerated in the Roman Church. The last seems, however, to have been erected owing to the proximity of the Emperor's villa *ad duas lauros* to the cemetery of SS. Marcellin and Peter. These extra-mural cemetery-churches showed considerable likeness in their structure. The rule was that they should stand exactly above the undisturbed tomb of the martyr, the high altar being placed vertically over it. In many cases this rule naturally necessitated levelling operations, and structural alterations in the galleries of the catacombs below. Such adaptations can sometimes be traced even to-day; they account for certain arrangements otherwise inexplicable. Some of these basilicas, such as that of St. Agnes and the older one of St. Lawrence, for instance, lie far below the level of the ground. The drawbacks inseparable from such a damp situation explain why these churches in particular have been so frequently restored.

In considering these earlier extra-mural churches—almost without exception cemetery-churches—it will be best to class them according to the main roads leading from the city. We

[1] *Liber pont., Silvester.* These and other statements in the *Liber pont.* regarding Roman churches of the time of Constantine, are confirmed from other sources, particularly monuments. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, cxl., cxliii.

shall start from the north, turn thence to the west, and once more make the circuit of Rome. The reader will thus be able to learn at the same time the topographical sequence of the principal roads of the Campagna.

In the list of these churches we shall, moreover, include only such as are mentioned in the first and original part of the *Liber pontificalis*. As this part was written *c.* 530, an allusion made in it is a guarantee of antiquity. We must, however, observe that the *Liber pontificalis* is not complete in its data, and might be supplemented by the pilgrim-Itineraries of the seventh century, even in what concerns very ancient churches. But it is not our intention here to go too far into details.[1]

143. On the **Via Cornelia** stands the Basilica of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles. This building was erected by Constantine, under Pope Silvester, and was restored by Leo I. Pope Damasus had already erected the baptistery.[2]

On the **Via Aurelia** Pope Symmachus built the church of St. Pancras above his grave (now S. Pancrazio) and a church to the virgin martyr, St. Agatha.[3]

On the **Via Portuensis**, which leads to Portus Romanus and the sea, stood the *Basilica Iulia*, built by Julius I. This was probably the one named also after the martyr Felix, which stood at the third milestone on this road, above the *Coemeterium ad Insalatos*.[4]

On the **Via Ostiensis**, also leading seawards, on the left bank of the river, towers the world-famed Basilica of St. Paul. The Constantinian building was completely transformed as early as the fourth century. The new basilica was consecrated in 390 by Pope Siricius.[5] On the same road stood the church of the Martyrs Felix and Adauctus, above the *Coemeterium Commodillae*, restored by John I. (523–526).[6]

On the **Via Ardeatina** are three churches—the *Basilica Marci*, after the Pope of that name; then the recently discovered *Basilica SS. Nerei et Achillei*, called also after St.

[1] On what we here say about the *Liber pont.*, cp. DUCHESNE, I., p. cxlii.

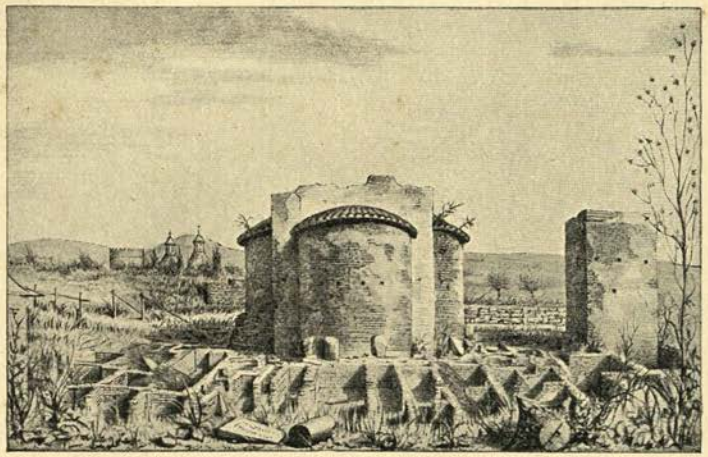
[2] *Liber pont.*, *Silvester*, No. 38. *Leo*, No. 66. For further details concerning St. Peter's church, see end of this fifth chapter.

[3] *Liber pont.*, *Symmachus*, No. 79. Cp. ibid., DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 267, notes 30, 31.

[4] *Liber pont.*, *Iulius*, No. 50. DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 206, note 8.

[5] *Liber pont.*, *Silvester*, No. 40. GRISAR, *Analecta Romana*, 1, 265. More below, chapter vii.

[6] *Liber pont.*, *Iohannes I.*, No. 89. DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 278, note 12.



Ill. 42.—Ancient Christian Oratory of Pope St. Xystus II., above the Catacomb of St. Callistus, surrounded by Tombs.

Petronilla, and restored by John I.; finally, the *Basilica Damasi*, erected by Damasus.[1]

The *Via Ardeatina* also led down to the sea, near which the ruins of Ardea can still show some of the best-constructed walls of the Roman period.

Two much-frequented churches stood amongst others in the *Ager Romanus*, on the **Via Appia**, which passed along under the Alban Hills and across the Pontine Marshes to Terracina and Naples. First the extensive *Basilica Apostolorum*, above the site *Ad Catacumbas*, where the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul were concealed for a time. It was built or restored by Pope Damasus, and exists to this day as the church of San Sebastiano.[2] Further, the Basilica of St. Cornelius, above the Cemetery of Callistus.[3] Two oratories, built above ground, existed at this spot, but are omitted from the *Liber pontificalis*. One was dedicated to the martyr-Pope Xystus (Ill. 42);[4] the other to the female martyr Soteris. In the large subterranean crypt of this same cemetery, fifteen Popes and several celebrated martyrs were buried. This is the special point of attraction for modern visitors to the Cemetery of Callistus.[5] The *Liber pontificalis*, which we are following, is particularly deficient with regard to these churches on the *Appia* and *Ardeatina*. Above this most important of all the Roman Catacombs, we shall later meet with many other famous shrines, which came into existence even before the seventh century.[6]

To proceed—the *Liber pontificalis* mentions the Basilica of St. Stephen on the **Via Latina**. This was founded as early as Leo I., and emerged from the ground in consequence of recent excavations.[7] The *Via Latina*, passing close to it, traversed the declivities of the Alban Hills and went on through the Trerus Valley by Anagnia and Frusinum towards Capua. The next road, the *Labicana*, only went a short distance into

[1] *Liber pont.*, *Marcus*, No. 49; *Iohannes I.*, No. 89; *Damasus*, No. 54.

[2] *Liber pont.*, *Damasus*, No. 54: "*Hic fecit basilicas duas. . . . Et* [*unam*] *in Catacumbas, ubi iacuerunt corpora sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli in quo loco platomam ipsam, ubi iacuerunt corpora sancta, versibus exornavit.*"

[3] *Liber pont.*, *Leo I.*, No. 66.

[4] DE ROSSI, *Roma sotterranea*, III., tav. 39. The entrance is in the middle line on the opposite side (see Ill. 111, C). The graveyard is a specimen of those in use at the time when Christians had already ceased to bury their dead in the Catacombs. The tower dates from the Middle Ages.

[5] *Liber pont.*, *Callistus*, No. 17. DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 142, note 7. *Xystus III.*, n. 64.

[6] See below, vol. ii., towards end of chapter vi.

[7] *Liber pont.*, *Silvester*, No. 44.

the hills, and ended in Labicum, in the vicinity of the places now called Colonna and Montecompatri.

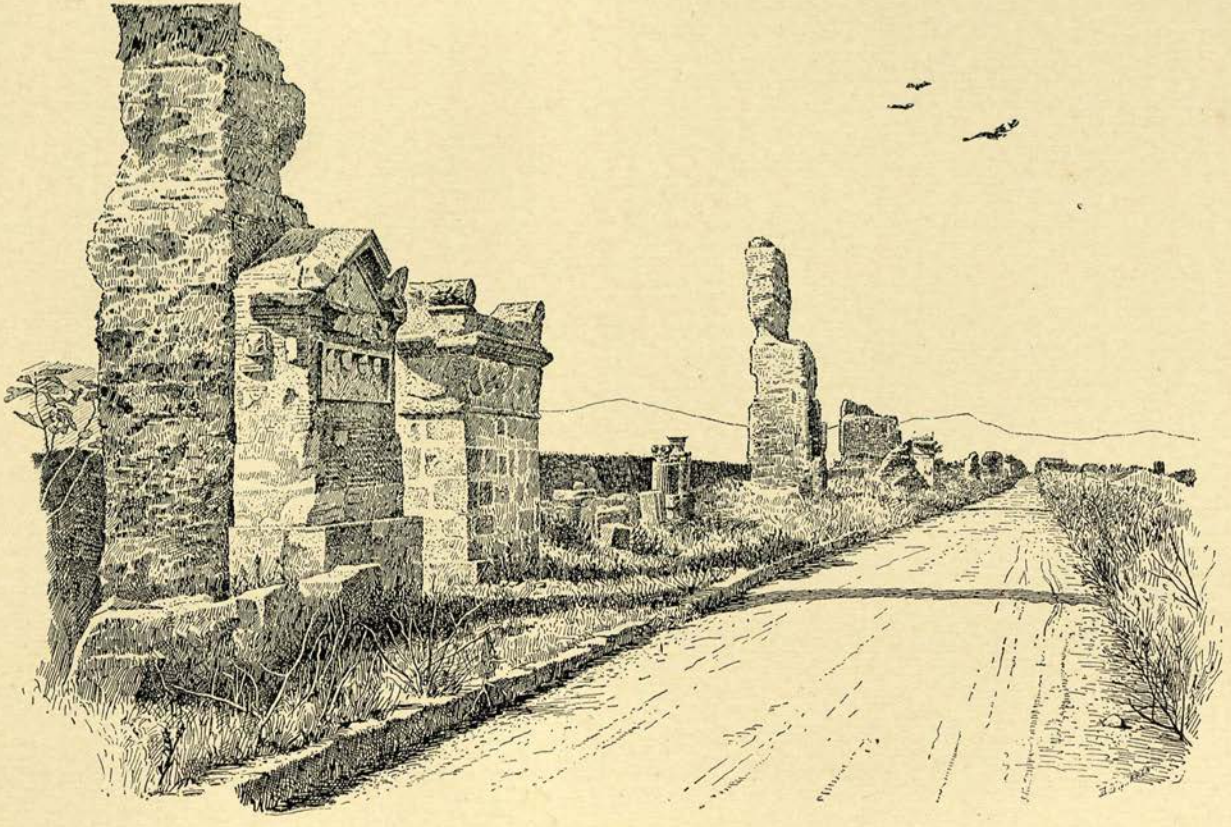
On the **Via Labicana,** our authority records that the Basilica of SS. Marcellin and Peter was founded by the Emperor Constantine above their cemetery *ad duas lauros:* It must be looked for beside the Mausoleum of St. Helena (Torre Pignattara).

144. On the way to Tibur (Tivoli), by the **Via Tiburtina,** there stood quite close to Rome a renowned church, the Basilica of the Roman Martyr Lawrence. This small building was erected by Constantine above the martyr's grave in the Cemetery of Cyriaca, in the *Ager Veranus.*[1] Pope Xystus III. added to it another and more spacious basilica. It was termed *maior,* while the first, situated lower, was called *Basilica ad Corpus.* Both have come down to us with their venerable outlines almost unaltered.[2] Under Felix III. a Basilica of St. Agapitus, and under Simplicius another of St. Stephen were founded near to the double church of St. Lawrence.[3]

The venerated Basilica of the Roman Martyr Agnes is mentioned at an early date as lying not far from Rome, on the **Via Nomentana,** which terminates at Nomentum (Mentana). It dates from Constantine. Restorations of the low, damply situated building were early undertaken by Popes Liberius, Innocent, and Symmachus; still later followed its greatest restoration under Honorius I.[4]

The **Via Salaria** leads to the Sabine territory. Within the precincts of Rome this road contained an Oratory of St. Felicitas, above her tomb in the cemetery of Maximus. It was erected by Boniface I. and restored by Symmachus.[5] There was also a Basilica of Saturninus above the cemetery of Thrason.[6] The existence of the great Catacombs of Priscilla on this same road was made known to visitors by a basilica erected by Pope Silvester and restored probably by John I. Its remarkable

[1] *Liber pont., Silvester,* No. 43.
[2] *Liber pont., Xystus III.* The designation *maior,* which the itineraries of the seventh century give to this basilica, appears upon two inscriptions of the fifth. DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.,* 1876, p. 22 ff. In one of these it says: IN BASILICA MAIORE AD DOMNV LAVRENTIVM. *Domnus* is used instead of *sanctus.*
[3] *Liber pont., Felix III.,* No. 73; *Simplicius,* No. 72.
[4] Ibid., *Silvester,* No. 42; *Honorius,* No. 119.
[5] Ibid., *Bonifatius I.,* No. 60.
[6] Ibid., *Felix IV.,* No. 90.



Ill. 43.—The Via Appia with its Ancient Tombs.
(In its present state.)

remains have only quite recently been temporarily brought to light.[1]

Finally, the Via Flaminia is the last great road to which our ramble round the town brings us. It crossed the Tiber at the Milvian Bridge, and went north, passing by Prima Porta and the Soracte. As it generally skirts the Tiber, it served to link Rome with the North Italian provinces. About midway between the Flaminian Gate and the Milvian Bridge stood the largest church adjoining this road anywhere in the neighbourhood of Rome. This was the Basilica of St. Valentine, founded by Julius I. It stood immediately in front of his cemetery among the steep crags of the Parioli. The foundations and some remains of tombs and columns of this basilica were brought to light quite lately (in 1888).[2] The surprisingly vast proportions of the triple-aisled church demonstrate afresh how the traditions of earlier Roman architecture — delighting in spacious, imposing, and dignified buildings — had been transmitted to the Christians of the fourth century. Taken collectively, we must admit that the sepulchral churches on the roads leading out of Rome reflect the grandeur of the ancient metropolis.

145. We must now cast a glance on the magnificent roads themselves which cross the Campagna in every direction. Wherever these have been preserved, they offer to this day masterly specimens of the Roman talent for technical enterprises on a vast scale. The boldness of their design and extent is only rivalled by the durability of the work, which seems to have been so fit together as to last for ever. The roads are laid with huge, almost imperishable polygonal blocks of basalt; on each side they have a raised border of stones (*crepidines*) on which, from point to point, other stones were set up to mark the distances, short or long. At every thousand paces stood a marble milestone (*miliarius*), giving the distance from Rome.

Lying between the Christian churches and oratories, an immeasurably larger number of heathen sepulchral buildings of every description lined the sides of these roads. Recalling to

[1] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1890, p. 97 ff., with plan. KIRSCH, *Die christlichen Cultusgebäude im Alterthum*, p. 23; p. 45 ff., on the sepulchral churches from the fourth to the seventh century generally.

[2] MARUCCHI, *Il cimitero e la basilica di san Valentino*, Roma, 1890.

Note to Ill. 43.—LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome*, p. 261. The spot pictured is at the commencement of the row of monuments, behind the rotunda of Cæcilia Metella. In the distance may be seen the Alban hills, to which the road leads.

ourselves the constant use of idolatrous decorations, the Pagan invocations on the inscriptions, the surrounding villas filled with statues and works of art saturated with mythology, polytheism, and sensuality, we can understand how the quiet, unpretentious mortuary churches of the Christians, even on this classic ground of the Campagna, prognosticated the coming transformation of Rome.

146. Returning once more to the interior of the city, the eye naturally seeks the centre upon which all these places of worship, both in and outside Rome, depend. Where was the headquarters of the Church to be found in the days previous to the peace under Constantine? The answer to the question is not easy to give.

It may be assumed that the Roman bishopric of the Christians was permanently attached to some one church or meeting-place, but for deciding which this was only two indications exist. First comes the claim of the *Titulus Pudentis*, where St. Peter is said to have laboured. But apart from the fact that the traditions of this church, however venerable, presuppose sundry apocryphal documents, they refer exclusively to the period of St. Peter and his first successors, and fail to state that this titular church was the residence of the Popes until Constantine. In the second instance we have the Catacomb of St. Priscilla, where we are told Peter baptized. However venerable this claim, it is not established, nor does it afford any information about St. Peter's successors.[1] Thirdly, it has been argued that the Catacomb of St. Callistus, in which is the crypt containing the remains of the Popes of the third century, was at that time the headquarters of the Papacy. This view, which has little to support it, has against it the distance which separated this cemetery from the city. A possible clue is an inscription formerly adorning a building beside the Basilica of St. Lawrence *in Damaso*, and due to Pope Damasus in the fourth century. The Pope (366–384) herein states that he had destined the aforesaid building, flanked with columns, as a new place for the custody of the "Archives." Here he himself, as well as his father, had spent their lives in the service of the Church. His father, he continues, beginning as a notary (*exceptor*) and lector, had risen to the Levite's office,

[1] MARUCCHI, *Nuovo. Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1901, p. 71 ff., 113, 277 ff.; *Le Catacombe romane*, 1903.

that is, to the diaconate, and to the priesthood; from this spot he himself—Damasus—had been raised to the apostolic throne. Now it seems that by "Archives," the ancient archives of the Roman Church are meant. If, therefore, they were preserved at this spot even before Constantine, it might easily be supposed that this was the centre of Church government. Still, this is only a supposition and nothing more, and it is based upon an inscription of which the sense is not perfectly clear.[1]

Damasus himself, as Pope, like his last five predecessors, resided at the Lateran Palace.[2] His consecration he also received in the Lateran Basilica. Unfortunately, we are not informed of the place where the archives of the Roman Church were deposited at that date.

147. The **Lateran** first appears in history as a papal residence in 311, that is, with the beginning of the time of peace. It was Constantine who bestowed the spacious ancient palace upon the Church. As early as the year 313, under the presidence of the Roman Bishop Miltiades, a synod was held there to deal with the Donatists. There, too, under Pope Silvester, the Emperor Constantine erected the *Basilica Lateranensis* to our Blessed Saviour; it was also called the *Basilica Constantiniana.* This was the biggest monumental work that the Emperor carried out in Rome for the benefit of the Church. The *Liber pontificalis* has preserved the authentic inventory of the rich endowment he bestowed upon this chief basilica, of the revenues and estates, and the gold and silver vessels. From its dazzling store of precious metals, marble, and mosaics, it later became known among the people as the *Basilica aurea.* The Lateran church and Palace have served to immortalise the name of the family of the Laterani.[3]

[1] "*Hinc pater exceptor, lector, levita, sacerdos* | *Creverat, hinc meritis quoniam melioribus actis;* | *Hinc mihi provecto Christus, cui summa potestas,* | *Sedis apostolicae voluit concedere honorem.* | *Archibis, fateor, volui nova condere tecta,* | *Addere praeterea dextra laevaque columnas,* | *Quae Damasi teneant proprium per saecula nomen.*" The inscription was copied at the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso "*in introitu ecclesiae ipsius.*" DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 135, 151; *La biblioteca della sede apost.* (*Studi e doc. di storia* 1884, t. 5, p. 340. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 212, note 7, and *Notes sur la topographie de Rome* (l.c.), p. 1 f.; BRESSLAU, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, 1 (1889), 121; also my article on St. Lawrence in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 27 (1903), p. 133 ff.

[2] *Libellus precum*, &c. (*P. L.*, XIII., 82).

[3] OPTATUS, *De schismate Donatist.*, 1, c. 23: "*Convenerunt in domum Faustae, in Laterano.*" In the *Liber pont.* (*Silvester*, No. 36), and in the Roman Council of 487, it appears under the name of *Basilica Constantiniana.* This latter designation, in constant

The Laterani had once owned the palace, though at the time of Rome's great transformation under Constantine it was already one of the Imperial demesnes. The *Domus Lateranensis* was then in the hands of Fausta, daughter of Maximian, the Church's relentless persecutor. In consequence of the Emperor's gift, the Roman Church succeeded Fausta in the ownership of the palace.

Recent excavations have brought to light remains of the spacious habitations composing this Roman palace which lie below and beyond the present walls of the basilica. It appears as if a considerable part of the older buildings in the vicinity of the Aurelian Wall has been preserved, some being actually incorporated in it. Ancient leaden pipes have also been found on the site of the palace stamped with the name of the Laterani, and quite lately one has been recovered with the name of Julia Mammæa.[1]

use to the time of Gregory I., excludes all doubt as to the foundation by Constantine. This is the solid historical fact which underlies the spurious Silvester legends and the famous, but equally false, *donatio Constantini*. The name "Lateran basilica" is employed by JEROME (*Ep.*, 67, n. 4), by PRUDENTIUS (*Contra Symmachum*, 1, v. 586), and in official reports of the schism of Eulalius in 419 (see BARONIUS, 418, 419). Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 191, note 28.

[1] STEVENSON, *Scoperte di antichi edifizi al Laterano*, in the *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1877, 332 ff. Cp. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Le Latran au moyen-âge*, 1877, with some good plans. I had an opportunity of seeing the latest leaden pipe in May 1890, when it was discovered during the restoration of the cloisters.

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CHAPTER V (*continued*)

FROM THE LATERAN TO THE VATICAN: A WALK THROUGH ROME AT THE PERIOD OF ITS TRANSFORMATION

From the Lateran to the Roman Forum

148. A WALK from the memorable Palace of the Lateran to the Basilica of the Apostle Peter will complete the picture sketched in the preceding pages. The road leads, if one may so express it, from one focus of ecclesiastical Rome to the other; from the seat of the hierarchy to its world-famous symbol—the tomb of St. Peter.

The road has the advantage of acquainting us with some characteristic features of the Rome of that period. It divides the whole length of the city from south-east to north-west, leads past the most splendid monuments of its fading grandeur, and reveals to us new aspects of the vigorous Christian element which has won itself a place within the walls. The streets to be followed, which may be seen on our map of Rome, are indicated by the Einsiedeln Itinerary, which, as we know, retains the ancient classic denominations. It names the monuments standing right and left, to some of which so far we have not had occasion to refer. The road connecting the Lateran with St. Peter's was so traditional during the Middle Ages—so constantly traversed by the Popes in solemn procession, and by ordinary bands of pilgrims, that, even towards the middle of the twelfth century, the first half, as is evident from the Processional of Benedictus Canonicus, was precisely the same as of old. But at its second part, in the time of Benedictus, the course was interrupted by accumulated ruins, and the way accordingly deviated from its time-honoured track. A *Via papalis*, however, exists to this day, being the survival of the old connecting-link between the two principal churches of Rome, the Lateran Basilica and the Basilica on the Vatican Hill.[1]

[1] LANCIANI, *L' itinerario di Einsiedeln e l' ordine di Benedetto canonico*, p. 449 ff., 493 ff., 534 ff. ADINOLFI, *La via sacra o del papa*, Roma, 1865; *Laterano e via Maggiore*, Roma, 1857.

The two halves of the road are, first, the line from the Lateran, past the Coliseum, and across the *Forum Romanum* up to the back of the Capitol; secondly, from the latter point through the *Campus Martius* to the Basilica of St. Peter on the farther side of the Ælian Bridge. The two halves join in the centre of the city, or, more exactly, at the spot where formerly stood the Servian *Porta ratumena*, at the southern end of the *Via Flaminia* below the Capitol. The Triumphal Arch of Domitian was later on erected here, and was known during the Middle Ages as the Arch of the Fleshy Hand (*arcus manus carneae*). Four ancient streets met at this topographically important spot.[1]

The first half falls of its own accord into two sections, one leading from the Lateran to the Arch of Titus near the Roman Forum, the other, across the whole length of the Forum, to the Capitol.

149. Let us join a group of foreign pilgrims who, having greeted the Bishop of Rome at the Lateran, now start to do honour to the Apostle Peter in his church. In the great cities of antiquity, for instance at Alexandria, where they were called *Periegetae*, there were men of education, "grammarians," or *Ludimagistri*, who explained the monuments to strangers, and who, when required, could produce the text of public inscriptions to satisfy the cultured curiosity of visitors. We may suppose that the better educated pilgrims to Rome were accompanied by such guides, for grammarians certainly abounded at Rome, indeed the earliest collections of Roman inscriptions and the Itineraries to both the city and the Catacombs seem to have come from men such as these.[2]

Our sixth-century pilgrims in their varied dress make a picturesque group. Among them, perhaps, there are Africans from the home of Fulgentius, the writer whom we met previously with his brother monks on the Roman Forum; Orientals, too, in strange attire, long since familiar to Rome; stalwart Gauls or people from the yet remoter North, drawn hither, even in those early days, by their piety or curiosity.[3]

[1] The Arch of Domitian at the Quadrivium is called *arcus manus carneae* in the *Ordo Benedicti canonici* (see above, p. 147), No. 51.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 47 ff.; *Roma sott.*, 1, 151 ff. GRISAR, *Analecta Romana*, 1, 129 ff., Dissert., 3: *Iscrizioni di Roma*, No. 7.

[3] Prudentius describes the throng of pilgrims at the saints' tombs, *Peristeph.*, 11, v. 205 ff., ed. DRESSEL, p. 450: "*Exultant fremitus, variarum hinc inde viarum | Indigena et Picens plebs et Etrusca venit*, &c. | *Vix capiunt patuli populorum gaudia*

150. The pilgrims first cross the great Lateran court (*Campus lateranensis*). This was bounded by the Pope's residence, called *Episcopium*, and later *Patriarchium lateranense*; then by the long side wall of the basilica—with its grand line of round-arched windows—and the baptistery of the Lateran (*baptisterium*, or *fons lateranensis*) with its numerous out-buildings, such as the Chapel of the Cross and the Portico of Pope Hilary. On the northern side the Claudian Aqueduct formed the fourth boundary. The picturesqueness of the last may be judged from the few arches of the *Aqua Claudia* still standing with their lofty and finely proportioned brickwork. The broad area thus enclosed probably corresponded to the "*Campus Martialis* on the Cælian Hill," which is found mentioned in Ovid, at least the Einsiedeln topographer points out a church of *S. Gregorius in Martio*, and it may well be that this name of *Martius* retains an echo of the old name *Campus Martialis*. The church in question stood at the commencement of the ancient *Via Merulana*. The *Merulana* went northwards from the Lateran Piazza through an arch of the Claudian Aqueduct. It is not identical with the modern street called Merulana.[1]

Supposing the pilgrims to be interested in the monuments on the Lateran Square, they would first of all notice the bronze equestrian statue called after Constantine the Great. It does not, however, represent Constantine, but Marcus Aurelius. Marcus Aurelius had been born in this neighbourhood, which accounts for the presence of his statue. The site of the monument must be sought near the modern Scala Santa. It continued to embellish the Lateran Piazza throughout the Middle Ages, and now stands at the top of the Capitol, whither it was transported in 1583. Having been from early mediæval times supposed to be a memorial of Constantine, the great patron of the Church and founder of the Lateran Basilica, it was treated with greater respect than most other works of art.[2]

The pilgrims, quitting the "Lateran field," passed through an arch of the aqueduct into the ancient road leading to the

campi, | *Haeret et in magnis densa cohors spatiis.*" Gregory of Tours often speaks of Frankish pilgrims to Rome; for instance: *Hist. Franc.*, 2, c. 5: 6, c. 6; *De virtutibus S. Martini*, 2, c. 25; *In glor. confess.*, c. 87; *Vitae patrum*, c. 6. Cp. GRISAR, *Analecta Romana*, 1, 357 ff., Dissert., 8: *Roma e la chiesa dei Franchi*, No. 3.

[1] OVID, *Fasti*, 3, v. 519. LANCIANI, *L' itinerario di Einsiedeln*, p. 536.

[2] LANCIANI, l.c., p. 535. STEVENSON, *Scoperte di antichi edifizi al Laterano* (in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1877, p. 373).

Coliseum. This is not the present Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano, but a road to the left (*i.e.* south) of it along the slopes of the Cælian. In yet earlier times it had led from the centre of Rome to the Servian *Porta Caelimontana.* Over a large portion of its course it coincides with the present Via de' santi Quattro Coronati. At the Lateran Square it, so to speak, solemnly opened with the arch of the before-mentioned Claudian Aqueduct which there crossed it. Later this arch was called *Arco di Basile.* The traditional importance of this highroad to the Coliseum appears from its twelfth-century names of *Via maior* and *Via sancta.* The latter name was at least applied to its lower part, lying near the Coliseum. These appellations occur in descriptions of the Popes' solemn processions from their Lateran residence to the Basilica of St. Peter.[1]

The most ancient Christian places of worship along this road are the Basilica of the *Quattuor Coronati,* that of St. Clement, and the Oratory of St. Felicitas. Their origin can be ascribed with more or less certainty to local associations with the history of the respective saints. In Rome many of the earlier houses of worship owe their erection to the titular saint being in some way connected with the locality. In many cases legends forged later have largely hidden the true facts; in some instances criticism can disentangle the facts from fiction, but more often investigators must rest content with only partial elucidation.[2]

151. The first of the sacred fanes mentioned above rises on the left of our road. This is the fascinating mediæval group of edifices of the *SS. Quattuor Coronati,* one of the most eloquent Roman monuments of the piety and the power of the past. This convent stronghold, castle, and venerable church all combined breathes even now the atmosphere of a departed age. At the time, however, of the pilgrims we are accompanying the spot seems to have been occupied by only a modest little basilica. Pope Honorius I., in the seventh century, commenced a church of exceptionally vast proportions, of which the side-aisles and chapels are preserved in the precincts of the present convent. The existing church of the Santi Quattro Coronati is a reduction of the ancient Honorian building, and dates from Paschal II. at

[1] Benedictus Canonicus says of the Pope, No. 50: "(*Dominus pontifex*) *intrat per campum iuxta S. Gregorium in Martio, descendit in viam maiorem sub arcu formae,*" &c.

[2] Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana,* 1879, p. 80; 1876, p. 102; 1867, p. 58.

the beginning of the twelfth century, the earlier central nave having been made into a new basilica.[1]

The "Coronati," according to St. Jerome's list of saints, had already, in the fourth century, a shrine at this spot (*ad Celio monte*, says the MS.). The martyrs, four in number, had been buried outside Rome on the *Via Labicana*, and had even, according to the oldest tradition, been known as the "Coronati," *i.e.* crowned by their martyrdom. Their names have not been handed down; they are said to have been soldiers and of the rank of *cornicularii*. It is said that they were put to death for their faith beside a temple of Æsculapius, near the church in front of Trajan's Baths. In the year 1872 remains of a fourth-century Damasian inscription were found in the ground under the apse of the present church. All that could be gathered from it was that it was written in honour of several martyrs, the reference being doubtless to the four "Coronati."[2]

At any rate we may infer from the early existence of an important titular church on this spot, that it was linked with some special historical association in remote Christian times. We must further notice that the Title was early called after the "Coronati," and not after the name of the founder. If these saints were really martyred in the immediate vicinity, then we have a natural explanation of the church being built as a memorial. It is also possible that the bodies of the martyrs were exposed at this part of the road, as was often done to intimidate the faithful. It is equally possible that the ancient buildings, of which we still see remains near the church, served as their jail. The history of these martyrs offers other unsolved problems. The cult of the four "Coronati" was associated with that of five other martyrs, as is shown by the earliest written documents. The story of the two groups becoming gradually confused, there resulted a curious tangle of historical traditions. The five martyrs just alluded to were not Romans, but Pannonians. They were brought to Rome, and buried at the same place near the city where the "Coronati" rested. Hence the error in the traditions.

History has more to say of the Pannonians than of the "Coronati." They suffered on November 8, 305, and their names were Claudius, Nicostratus, Symphorianus, Castorius, and Simplicius.

[1] MARUCCHI, *Basiliques et églises de Rome*, p. 223 ff.
[2] DE ROSSI, *Bull. di arch. crist.*, 1879, p. 81.

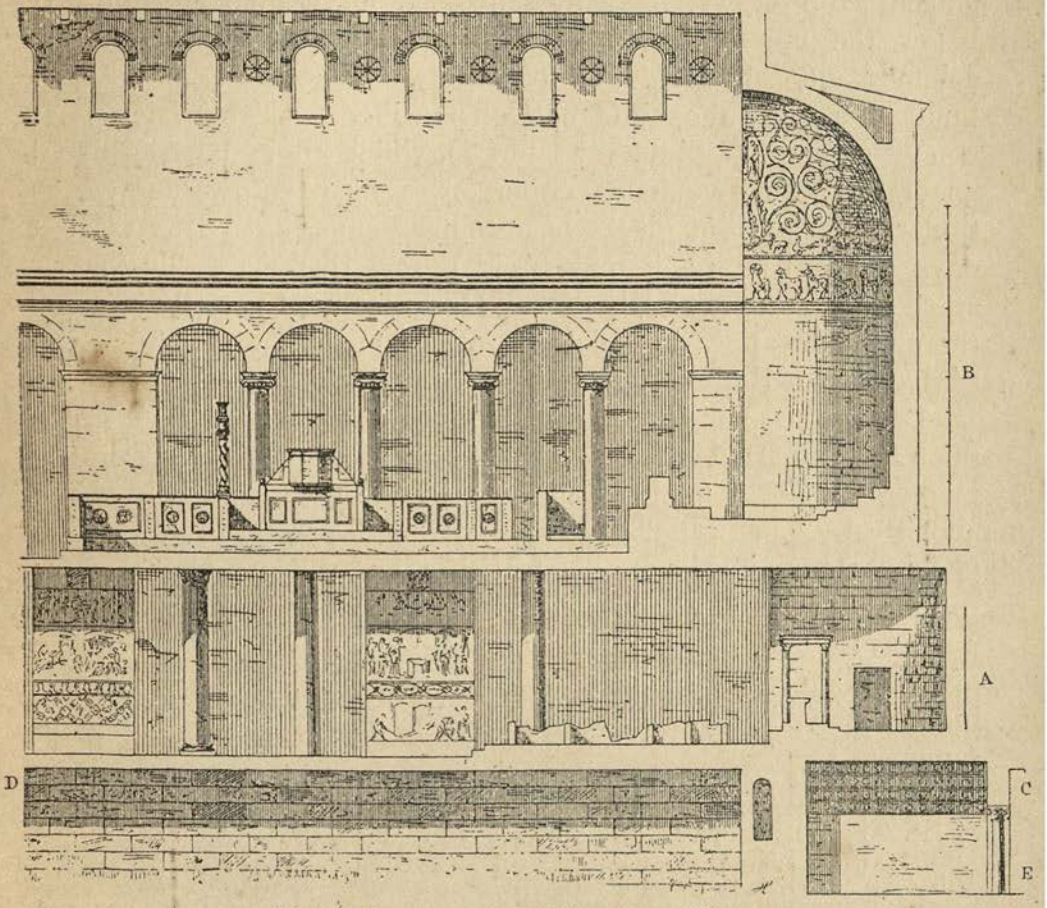
Their "Acts," recently investigated by both Catholic and non-Catholic scholars, have been proved to be contemporary and reliable. These saints, who were stone-masons, refused to further heathen worship by their work, and for their refusal were put to death. Later on, when legends became the order of the day, this story was transferred to the *Quattuor Coronati*, the stone-masons of Rome even adopting them as their patrons. A chapel of this church belonging to the guild of Roman stone-masons, and decorated with early pictures, was dedicated to the *Coronati*, as brother-craftsmen.[1]

152. It is now time to move on to the second and still greater monument of local sacred history lying on our line of route. Almost opposite the church of the *Quattuor Coronati*, in the hollow of the valley to the right, stands the titular church of St. Clement. It too belongs to the Cælius, the second Augustan city region. Inscriptions and monuments conspire to make us believe that a church founded by Clement, bishop and martyr, and the third successor of Peter, stood upon this very spot. Writing in 392, Jerome says that, down to his time, "the memory of the name of Clement was preserved by the church built at Rome." From this century, too, dates the inscription on the iron collar of an escaped and recaptured slave, which refers to an acolyte, *a dominicu Clementis*. The *dominicum* of Clement can be no other than this church. *Dominicum* was the usual name for a Christian church as House of the Lord. Besides, an inscription of Pope Damasus, one of the time of Pope Siricius, and an epistle of Pope Zosimus confirm the age and importance of this titular church.[2]

[1] This error is very clear in the Roman Pilgrim's Itinerary of the seventh century, *De locis sanctis martyrum*, where it says: "*Iuxta viam lavicanam isti dormiunt: . . . Quattuor Coronati, id est, Claudius, Nicostratus, Simpronianus, Castorius, Simplicius*," this making *five*, identical with the Pannonians. DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I, 142, 178. A further confusion was that the Martyrologies bestowed upon the *Quattuor Coronati*, whose names were unknown, the names of four other soldiers and martyrs: Severus, Severinus, Carpophorus, and Victorinus, who were buried at Albano. Thus the history of the *Coronati* became hopelessly entangled. After the publication of the *Passio SS. quattuor Coronatorum* by WATTENBACH, in 1870 in the *Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte*, 3, 323 ff., DE ROSSI (cp. his long article in the *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1879, p. 45 ff.) endeavoured to throw some light on the matter. We have adopted de Rossi's conclusions, which have been widely acknowledged. It is not probable that a wholly satisfactory explanation will ever be reached. Cp. WATTENBACH, *Neues Archiv*, 5 (1880), 227 ff.; 11 (1886), 202; 12 (1887), 426; and specially the supplementary volume of the *S.B. Berlin. Akad.*, 1896, No. 47, p. 1281 ff. (the Acts according to *cod. Paris. lat.*, 10861).

[2] HIERONYMUS, *De viris illust.*, c. 15: "*nominis eius (Clementis) memoriam usque hodie Romae extructa ecclesia custodit.*" Inscription with "*dominicum Clementis*," DE

The original church (Ill. 44, A)[1] which our pilgrims would have seen in the fifth century, has been only excavated since 1858. The new church (B) erected by Pope Paschal II. was built above it. The same Pope who restored the church of the *Quattuor Coronati*, subsequently to the destruction of this whole quarter by



Ill. 44.—Basilica of St. Clement at Rome.

Section showing the superposed churches belonging to three different periods.

Robert Guiscard's Normans, also built a new Basilica of St. Clement. This he did by partly filling up and partly demolishing the older one, which stood somewhat lower down in the Cælian

Rossi, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1863, p. 25; 1874, p. 159. *Dominicum* is the translation of the Greek κυριακή (scil. οἶκος). Damasus, see de Rossi, l.c., 1870, p. 148. Siricius, ibid., 1870, p. 147. Zosimus in Jaffé[2], No. 329 (*P. L.*, XX., 649). *Liber pont.*, I, 123: "*Clemens romanus, de regione Coeliomonte.*"

[1] Dehio and Bezold, *Gesch. der kirchl. Baukunst*, Pl. 22, No. 2. The lower church is now entered at D. Its altar has been restored, but the mediæval paintings are intact. See the upper church with its ambo and paschal candlestick in Ill. 45.

valley, setting up another in its place. The new one was on a smaller scale than the old, for the ancient side-aisles below extend considerably beyond the aisles of the twelfth-century church. Modern excavations, conducted with zeal and judgment by the Irish Dominican Mullooly, laid open the whole interior of the ancient edifice. We may now inspect, more than sixteen feet below the upper church, halls adorned with choice antique columns and early mediæval paintings. It seems to have been built soon after the time of Constantine. At the back it is connected with a still deeper hall (C), which might be considered an oratory already existing either on or near the dwelling of the titular saint. From pieces of masonry belonging to the earliest days of the Empire, it may be gathered that a dwelling-house stood there at a very early date. It is worthy of note that among these remains appear foundation-walls (D) belonging to the period of the Roman Republic.[1]

Distant and widely separated epochs have thus left their traces upon this remarkable site. Our interest in a spot where so many memories meet is further enhanced by the discovery, behind the above early Christian "Oratory," of a well-preserved Mithræum (E) still containing its statue of Mithra, and the stone benches for the initiated running round it. Seeing that Paganism was fast nearing its end, the superstitious worshippers selected this place of concealment, approached from another side, and there tauntingly displayed their banner in close proximity to the Christian sanctuary.[2]

Since the excavations of recent years, the venerable church of St. Clement has become almost a museum of Christian archæology and art. But, even before the excavations, we possessed, in the upper church of Paschal II., an exquisite and impressive example of the interior arrangement of early Roman basilicas. In Paschal's time basilicas were still decorated in the ancient manner. In this edifice, moreover, the Pope seems in many

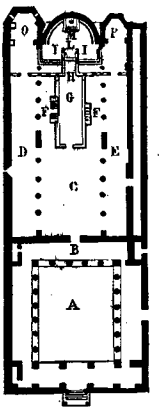
[1] J. MULLOOLY, O.P., *Saint Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome*, 2nd edition, Rome, 1873 (with Plates). DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1863, p. 25 ff. (Map, p. 30). Ibid., 1870, p. 129 ff.: *I monumenti scoperti sotto la basilica di S. Clemente, studiati nella loro successione stratigrafica e cronologica.* Cp. KRAUS, *Realencyklopädie der christl. Alterthümer*, 1, 132; ibid., DE WAAL, 1, 297. Cp. ROLLER, *Revue archéol.*, 2 (1872), 65–73, 129–141, 290–296. ARMELLINI, *Chiese di Roma*[2], p. 124. KIRSCH, *Kultusgebäude*, p. 32 ff. MARUCCHI, *Basiliques*, p. 287 ff.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1870, 125–153. View and ground-plan, Pl. 10 and 11; also ROLLER, in *Revue*, &c., Pl. 14, 16, 17.

Ill. 45.—Basilica of St. Clement. (Interior of the Upper Church.)

points to have imitated the earlier church of St. Clement. His basilica, of which the ground-plan is given in our illustration (Ill. 46), is the only one in Rome which has been able to preserve its interior arrangement with tolerable completeness down to the present time.

There is a quadrangle (A), surrounded by a portico, with a central fountain (*cantharus*), forming a passage to an atrium set transversely (B). The columns are probably those of the more ancient quadrangle, erected upon the new and higher level. We still see, on either side of the main entrance (B), leading to the central nave (C), the two side entrances—now walled up—leading to the two aisles (D, E). The circular open tribune, or apse, still stands at the end of the interior, flanked by the two smaller apses (O and P) of the aisles. There is also the choir fronting the altar (L), with its pillared canopy; the chancel (G), surrounded by a square marble balustrade for the lower clergy and choristers (*schola cantorum*, Ill. 45[1]). It is connected with the sanctuary (I.I) by a doorway (H) and still contains the *ambones*, or lecterns, for the Epistle and Gospel (FF). The balustrade, with its ornamental work in relief, is much older than the time of Paschal II.; it is in greater part the same marble screen that had stood in the lower church since the sixth century, and must have been brought up into its present position by the above-named Pope. The style of the decoration points to the sixth century, whilst one monogram of a name, deciphered as IOHANNES, would indicate the reign of Pope John II. (533–535). Other monuments from the lower church of St. Clement also refer to this Pope, formerly known as Mercurius.[2]



Ill. 46.—BASILICA OF ST. CLEMENT.
Plan of the upper church. The letters L and M show respectively the position of the celebrant when at the altar, and his marble stool in the niche of the apse.

153. Near this early sanctuary of St. Clement's, Roman matrons might have been seen in great numbers taking the path

[1] From a new photograph. To the left is seen the *schola cantorum*. To the right, on the enclosure of the *Presbyterium*, are the decorations belonging to the time of John II., and depicted in Vol. II., Ill. 155.

[2] See copy of monogram, *Analecta Romana*, 1, 151, Dissertaz., 3, *Iscrizioni di Roma*, No. 9, Pl. I., No. 6.

which went up towards the Baths of Trajan. It was a road much frequented by the pious women of early Christian Rome, for it led to the neighbouring Oratory of the Roman Matron and Martyr **Felicitas,** the third Christian monument lying on our road. According to an inscription, the saint was worshipped here as Foster-mother of Roman women (*cultrix Romanarum*).[1]

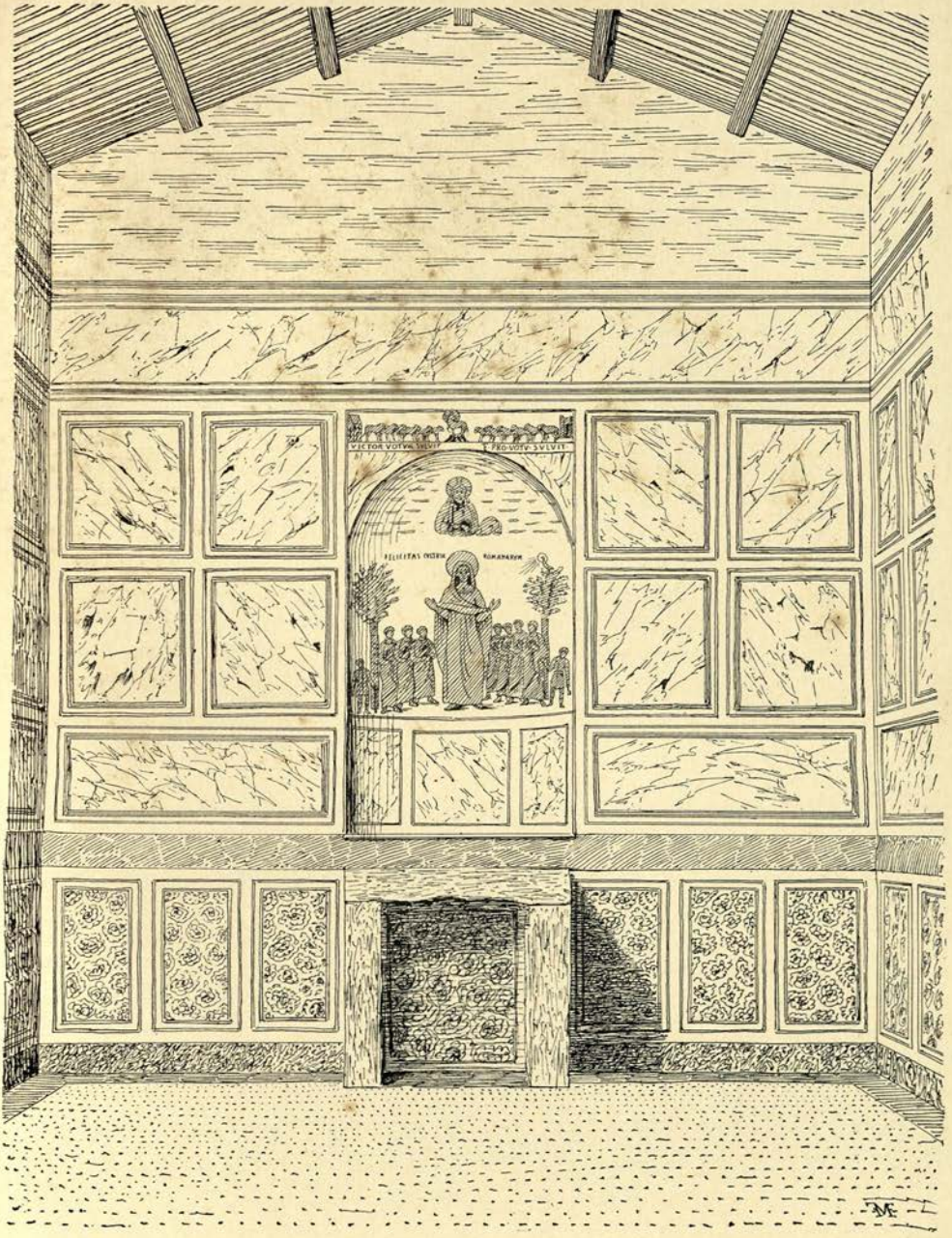
The still-existing chapel (Ill. 47 [2]) of very modest dimensions is decorated on the wall behind the altar by a picture of the fifth, or early sixth century. It represents St. Felicitas as an Orante, surrounded by her seven sons, all martyred in the presence of their heroic mother. The valuable picture has been almost ruined through the moisture. When the chapel was excavated in 1812 this picture exhibited other characteristic details besides those just mentioned. Amongst others, a figure which seems to afford some welcome information regarding the local associations which led to the erection of a church on this spot. Below, on the right, was figured a jailer holding a key. It seems, therefore, probable that Felicitas was imprisoned here before suffering martyrdom outside the city.[3]

The scenery surrounding the figures of the martyrs in the centre bore an entire likeness to the mosaics in the large churches of the same date, and therefore deserves special notice. Christ appears in the clouds above the principal personage, *i.e.* St. Felicitas, placing the crown of victory and trophy of martyrdom upon her head. On the upper border twelve lambs, symbolising the twelve Apostles, are making their way from either side from the cities (or folds) of Bethlehem and Jerusalem to the Lamb standing in the centre upon the conventional hill, whence flow the fountains of living water. The symbolic picture is completed by two palm trees, right and left of the saint. On a branch of one is perched the mythical Phœnix, betokening the New Birth and Eternal Life. All these details, either singly or

[1] On the old painting in the altar recess the following words of a prayer scratched there may also be deciphered: "*Sancta martyr multum praestas ob voti . . . felicitates* (in allusion to her name) *sperare innocentes non desperare* (*reos*)." DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1885, p. 160 ff.

[2] A drawing by the architect, F. Mazzanti. Lacking details have been supplied from DE ROSSI, *Bull. arch. crist.*, 1885, tav. 11, and GARRUCCI, *Arte cris.*, tav. 154. The coloured imitation marble on the walls may still be recognised here and there, and bears some resemblance to the analogous painting on the walls of the church of SS. John and Paul on the Cælian Hill.

[3] DE ROSSI, l.c., p. 157 ff.: *Pittura ritraente S. Felicità ed i sette figliuoli in un antico oratorio presso le terme di Tito.* Cp. ibid., Pl. 11.



Ill. 47.—Ancient Christian Oratory of St. Felicitas and her Sons.
(View of the inside showing the Altar; partially reconstructed.)

variously amplified, recur repeatedly on Roman mosaics from the fourth to the seventh centuries.

This simple yet precious *Oratorium* vividly portrays other artistic customs and pious practices of its age. On the walls of the equal-sided interior, besides the customary imitation-mosaics, frescoes were found of early Christian subjects, several of them painted under the influence of the then prevalent symbolism; thus we find the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace, and Daniel in the Lions' Den; the Apostles Peter and Paul stand beside the Saviour.

Many names of persons and acclamations, some Christian, but mostly Pagan, had been scratched upon the wall. A calendar, showing the deities of the days of the week, was evidently also inscribed in the classical period.

The whole edifice must certainly have, in heathen times, formed part of a dwelling-house, distinct from the neighbouring Baths of Trajan. The question has even been raised whether the actual residence of St. Felicitas may not have been preserved here; in default of information no answer can be given. Were this the case it would, however, explain the great reverence felt by Roman matrons for this shrine, and expressed by them in many an inscription scratched upon it.[1]

Only very few such small oratories dating from early Christian times are known in Rome. An *Oratorium* of the fourth century was discovered in 1876 not far from the railway station, and near the Thermæ of Diocletian, below the so-called Monte di Giustizia; but, most unfortunately, it was demolished. The apse was ornamented with pictures of Christ and the Apostles, whilst, underneath, were depicted cheerful scenes—fishermen and boats on a river which ran round the semi-circular vault, just as in the mosaics of the Lateran and Sta. Maria Maggiore. Another Oratory is also known, of which remains were visible beside St. Prisca's as late as the eighteenth century. This, too, possessed Christian pictures, dating from the fourth century. In consequence of an earlier inscription found there relating to a certain Pudens Cornelianus, one is

[1] The discovery of the Oratory of St. Felicitas was made in 1812, during the excavation of a portion of Trajan's Thermæ. In most accounts these are referred to as the Baths of Titus. GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 3, 85, and Pl. 154, No. 3, p. 88. On the calendar mentioned above, see PIALE in *Memorie enciclopediche di Guattani* (Roma, 1817), p. 153 ff. Piale gives a copy of the calendar.

tempted to connect the house with that family, Pudens, so famous in tradition. A third oratory, discovered long since and possibly belonging to the sixth century, is mentioned as existing in the vicinity of St. Peter's *ad Vincula.*[1] Yet a fourth Oratory, covered with sixth or seventh century paintings, has recently been found under St. Saba's, and may be that of St. Silvia, the mother of Gregory the Great.

154. Though primarily occupied with Christian antiquities, we cannot refrain, during our archæological ramble, from some cursory notice of the **Thermæ of Trajan,** standing to the right of our road. The central building, a creation of that Emperor's love of art, was surrounded by an immense square. It contained the customary porticoes, open spaces, and halls for sport and conversation. A portion of this mass of buildings appears on a fragment of the Severian marble plan, and gives an idea of its vastness. These Thermæ have not yet been examined at all fully, and, till recently, were so little known that they were erroneously called after Titus. The place is, however, very famous in the history of art, for it was here that, in 1506, was found the priceless group of the Laocoon in the remains of the reservoirs of these baths, or the so-called "sette sale."[2]

The underground chambers of these baths, towards the church of St. Clement, are a part of Nero's "Golden House." Trajan partly erected his Thermæ above the site of this absurdly huge palace. Nero's memory had been execrated by the State, and his architectural freaks devoted to destruction; yet, ever since the revival of art, the classical frescoes adorning the great dark halls of Nero's buried splendour have formed a centre of admiring wonder, and justly, for they are the most perfect specimens of decorative painting bequeathed to us by antiquity. Michelangelo Buonarotti, and many other artists after him, made these famous groups their models. How far these products of luxury and taste surpass the early pictures in Christian oratories and basilicas! Church art strove to edify by simply depicting a spiritual or historical subject; it was eminently

[1] For the oratory near the Baths of Diocletian, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1876, p. 46 ff. (with Plates VI. and VII.); for that near St. Prisca's, see DE ROSSI, l.c., 1867, p. 46, 48; for the third, see *Mittheilungen des archäol. Institutes*, 1892, p. 33.

[2] For the vast ruins of the Thermæ, cp. RICHTER, l.c. NIEBUHR, *Beschreibung Roms*, 3, 2, 221 ff. JORDAN, *Forma urbis*, tab. 16, No. 109. O. RICHTER, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom.*, p. 185.

unpretentious, and shared the shortcomings of the age, which was already showing traces of decay. On the other hand, here, in these pictures of the first century, we see all that classic refinement and beauty of form peculiar to the Golden Age which followed Augustus. The execution is light, and the very outlines all instinct with harmony and grace, though the subjects, replete with worldliness and luxury, are such as no Christian artist, out of regard for the susceptibilities of his co-religionists, could have adopted.[1]

Trajan's Thermæ extended backwards nearly to the Basilica of St. Peter *ad Vincula*, which we previously mentioned as an early titular church on the Esquiline. Any one going from the Lateran to St. Peter's on the Vatican would have seen in the distance this other church of St. Peter looking down from its height. The name *ad Vincula* was adopted by the Esquiline church on account of the fetters of St. Peter, a relic venerated from very early times as a memento of the Apostle's captivity at Rome.

Here again, conformably with our object in this chapter, we must ask the reader to pause. In the first half of the fifth century, under Pope Xystus III., there was at Rome a general conviction that the chains had been preserved at this spot "for many years." This is evident from this Pope's public inscription on the newly restored church *ad Vincula*, in which he extols "the undamaged chains of Peter" as a treasure of the church, adding that this "blessed iron is more precious than any gold." The existence of this chain is therefore proved some time before legend began to associate it with the Empress Eudoxia. By the beginning of the fifth century it had become the custom for foreign bishops to solicit particles of the fetters as relics, and to expose them for special veneration in their churches. About 419, Bishop Achilleus of Spoleto placed a long inscription, commemorative of one of these relics, on the staircase leading up to the Basilica of St. Peter in his city. The text of this epigraphic poem has been preserved. In it Achilleus, addressing all who pass through Spoleto by the Flaminian Way, either to or from Rome, informs them that, not only in Rome, but also in Spoleto, in St. Peter's church upon the hill, the Prince of the Apostles has

[1] A. DE ROMANIS, *Le antiche camere esquiline, dette comunemente Terme di Tito*, Roma, 1822 (with copies of the pictures). O. RICHTER, l.c.

his seat, and this by virtue of a relic from St. Peter's chains, and by virtue of the sacred memorial of his martyrdom, which the Basilica of Spoleto thus contains.[1]

Continuing on our way towards the Coliseum, before reaching it, we see to the left, on the Cælian, the buildings belonging to the *Caput Africae* quarter. The name came from an Imperial *Paedagogium* which once stood here, and the court-pages educated here were called *Caputafricenses*. In modern times the name has been revived and bestowed on an adjacent street. Originally, no doubt, the name arose from a portrait, or signboard, depicting an African woman. At Rome there were many similar signs and scutcheons which gave their names to streets and quarters.[2]

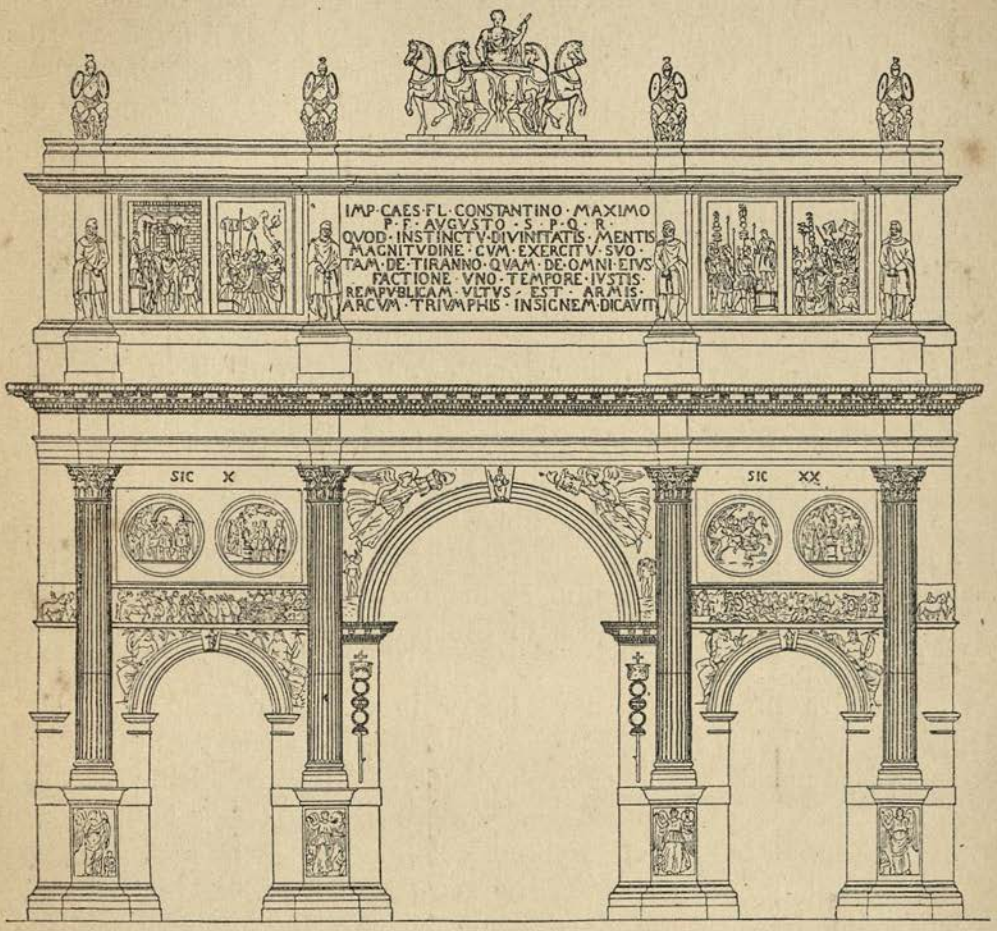
Still farther up the Cælian hill lofty perpendicular sub-structures support the Temple of the Emperor Claudius, occupying a commanding position in the present gardens of the Passionist Convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

155. The ancient road, by which we have now reached the Coliseum, passes round the amphitheatre to the left, and thence, as the Einsiedeln Itinerary expressly notes, between the Triumphal Arch of Constantine and the *Meta sudans*. After this it leaves the Temple of Venus and Roma on the right and the angle of the Palatine on the left, and, under the name of *Sacra Via*, ascends the rising ground leading to the Arch of Titus. This stands, in ancient parlance, *in summa sacra via*. What a combination of magnificent monuments, what an intermixture of Christian monuments with the proud pomp of Pagan Rome!

[1] The inscription of Xystus III. (432–440) from the apse of the church, is in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 134, No. 1: "*Inlaesas olim servant haec tecta catenas,* | *Vincla sacrata Petri, ferrum pretiosius auro.*" Cp. inscription in same church, ibid., p. 110, No. 164: "*His solidata fides, his est tibi, Roma, catenis* | *Perpetuata salus,*" &c. Cp. GRISAR, *Analecta Romana*, 1, 77 ff., Dissertaz., 3, *Iscrizioni di Roma*, No. 2. The inscription at Spoleto in DE ROSSI, *Inscrip. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 113 ff.: . . . "*Qui Romam Romaque venis, hunc aspice montem,* &c. | *In te (Petre) per cunctas consistit ecclesia gentes,* &c. | *Arbiter in terris, ianitor in superis.*" Cp. for the Roman church *ad Vincula*, DUCHESNE, *Notes sur la topographie*, &c., p. 22; on the preservation of fetter-relics in other churches, DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1871, p. 118; 1874, p. 147; 1878, p. 19; on the fetters in the above basilica, MONSACRATI, *De catenis S. Petri*, Roma, 1750; Italian edition, with addenda by L. GIAMPAOLI (*Memorie delle catene di S. Pietro*), Prato, 1884, p. 147 ff. We said above that the name of the church, *a vinculis S. Petri*, was in use in the sixth century. Up to the fourth century we have nothing reliable to fall back upon when discussing this relic. Eudoxia's legendary gift of the fetters was thus judged by the Congregation appointed by Benedict XIV. for emending the Breviary: "*Quae in breviario extant, historiam exhibent, quae criticis pene omnibus non probatur.*" The Congregation decided to suppress the lessons IV.-VI. of the Festival of St. Peter *ad Vincula* on August 1. See extracts from their "Acts" in the *Analecta iuris pontificii*, 24 (1885), 913. We have treated the whole matter compendiously in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1898, III., p. 206–221.

[2] G. GATTI, *Caput Africae*, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1882, p. 191 ff.

Doubtless the arch in honour of the Christian Emperor **Constantine** (Ill. 48) would then have been pointed out as one of the greatest trophies of Christianity. The inscription speaks of the Emperor's victory over the "tyrant" and "his whole



Ill. 48.—Triumphal Arch of Constantine.
Reconstruction.[1]

faction," indicating thus the overthrow of the heathen Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, that great event which brought the Emperor to Rome and gave Christian Rome for all time the predominance over her heathen rival. In the aforesaid inscription the Roman Senate alludes to the religious question with

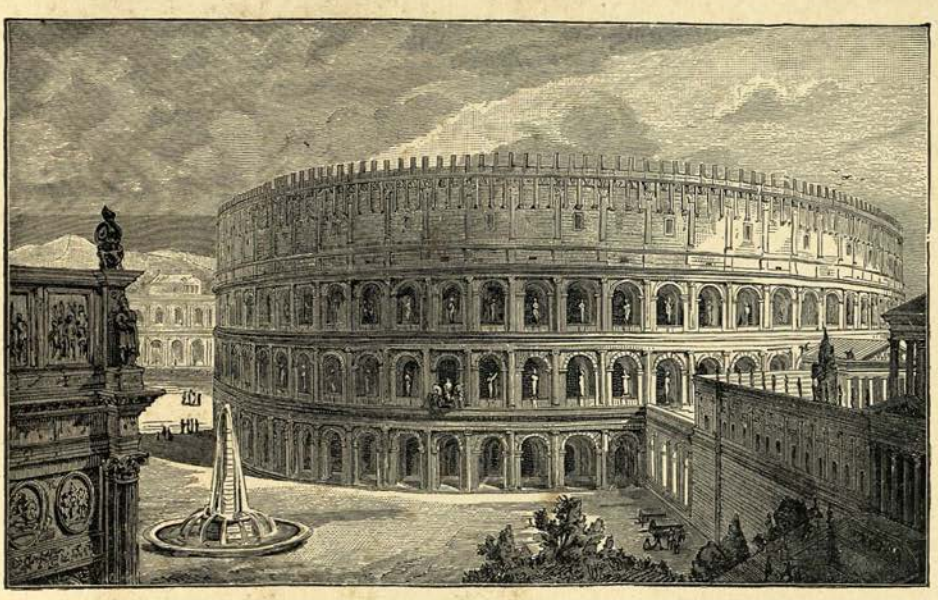
[1] From Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Alterthums*, Pl. 82. The view is of the front facing the Palatine. The sculpture shown in Ill. 25 is still intact, and stands over the right entrance of that side of the arch which faces the Coliseum.

great caution and reserve, merely stating that Constantine freed Rome from the yoke of the tyrant through "Divine guidance" (*instinctu divinitatis*).[1] At the time of its dedication in 315 such an expression might have been used even by Pagans, so that it can certainly not be taken as a profession of Christianity. It is far more probable that the inscription was so framed as to offend neither the Emperor and his Christian friends nor the still largely preponderating heathen party. The Senate, of which the majority was still Pagan, evidently strove to adapt itself to the new general situation. The decoration of the triumphal arch bears strong witness to the decadence of sculpture at that epoch, and also to perfectly inexplicable haste. Such of the statues as are new are devoid of feeling and heavy to a degree. A quantity of work in relief was, moreover, brought from earlier monuments, *e.g.* from an Arch of Trajan standing near, probably beside the Circus Maximus, and which it was thought seemly to despoil. The style of the latter sculptures is utterly unlike that of Constantine's own era. The exquisite work in relievo setting forth the exploits of Trajan, and even depicting his sacrifices to the gods, seems here peculiarly out of place, and seems to lift its voice in helpless protest at being associated with the productions of Constantine's debased age.[2]

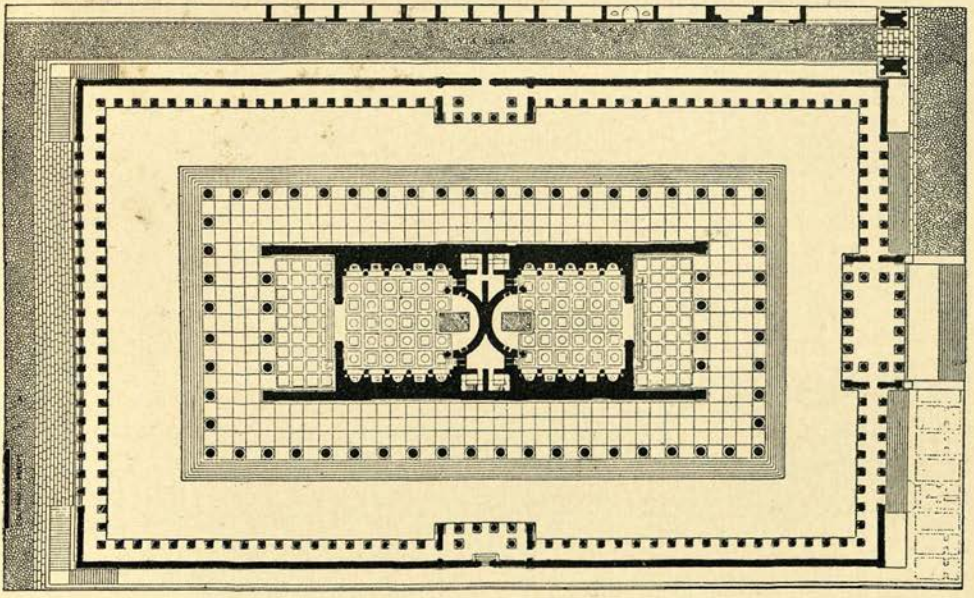
156. In those early days the visitor's admiring gaze could better revel in the **Coliseum** than now, when the building seems cramped by its surroundings. With astonishment he would look at its elliptical enclosure, nearly 164 feet in height; at the three boldly superposed colonnades, each with eighty openings lightening the massive structure, and, in their turn, surmounted by two other tiers of masonry. The open arches of the second and third stories now look down upon us empty; formerly throughout their circuit they were tenanted by bronze and marble statues, while between the pilasters on the outside of the fourth story flashed a long line of bronze shields. The latter decoration was really scarcely necessary to enhance the impressiveness of the whole building, the majestic regularity

[1] The inscription, repeated on both sides of the arch, can be seen in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1139. Copy and commentary on the inscription in DE ROSSI (*Bull. archeol. crist.*, 1863, p. 49 ff.), where it is also shown how unwarranted is the theory which sees in the words *instinctu divinitatis* a later substitution for the *nutu Iovis O.M.*

[2] Cp. PETERSEN, *Mitth. des röm. Instituts*, 1889, p. 314; 1891, p. 93.



Ill. 49.—Coliseum with the Meta Sudans and a Portion of the Arch of Constantine.



Ill. 50.—The Twin Temples of Venus and Roma. (Ground-plan.)

being quite sufficient; the harmonious choice and variety of the arches and columns in each story tempered agreeably the almost overwhelming impression produced by the vast size of the structure. Well might the Roman poet Martial exclaim:[1] "Every work of art yields to the Cæsarean Amphitheatre." At that time no one thought of ascribing the work to a Christian master. Only in the fourteenth century was an inscription fabricated, mentioning a Christian, Gaudentius, as architect of the Amphitheatre. The forgery betrays itself both by the wording and the form of the letters. The tablet is preserved in the crypt of St. Martina, in the Roman Forum.[2] The *Meta sudans* beside the Coliseum (Ill. 49) was a fountain set in the midst of a pool, rather mean in comparison with its surroundings. At present its brick cone, surrounded by the restored border of the basin, may still be seen.[3]

In better proportion to the grandeur of the Amphitheatre was a **Colossus of Nero,** not far from the *Meta sudans.* As is perfectly well known, this statue originally represented Nero, and towered over 100 feet in height, on a lofty pedestal, of which the square base can still be seen. This masterpiece of Zenodorus was changed by Vespasian into a statue of the Sun God, while the Emperor Commodus turned it into his own portrait, adding to it his divine attributes. After Commodus it again became a statue of the Sun. The Constantinian regionary survey calls it simply the *Colossus,* and mentions that it bears the attributes of the god Sol. Seven rays, it tells us, encircled the head, each 22½ feet in length.

The legend of the martyrs Abdon and Sennen tell us that after they had suffered for their faith in the Amphitheatre, and had been slain by gladiators, their bodies were exposed for three days at the base of this statue. Whole series of heroic Christians are mentioned in martyr-legends as having suffered in the Coliseum or its immediate vicinity, and it is indubitable that the Amphitheatre was the scene of many martyrdoms. Those condemned to be thrown to wild beasts, as many of the Christians

[1] MARTIAL, *De spectac., Epigr.* 1. This monument was long used as a quarry. See LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi di Roma,* 1902 ff.

[2] Cp. DE ROSSI, *Musaici delle chiese di Roma,* fasc. 23. The inscription in MARANGONI, *Delle memorie sacre e profane dell' anfiteatro flavio* (Roma, 1746, p. 18).

[3] According to the legend of St. Restitutus, his body had been hidden near the *Meta sudans. Acta SS.,* VII., Maii 29, p. 12. JORDAN, *Topographie,* 2, 383.

were, paid their penalty in the arena used for wild beast shows —*i.e.* the Flavian Amphitheatre. It can be proved by ample reliable testimony that this building witnessed the sufferings of St. Ignatius of Antioch. But when we come to lists of other martyrs who, Christian martyrologies allege, suffered like him, the historical confirmation of the report becomes a matter of difficulty. The main objection is that the Acts which tell us of these Roman martyrs are not reliable records belonging to the period of the persecutions, but pious legends compiled during the fifth and sixth centuries, if not later—and full of anachronisms and improbable details. The statement that death occurred in the Amphitheatre through wild beasts or other cruel means easily grew into a sort of formula in the so-called Acts; at least, in individual cases, one would like stronger testimony. Sometimes, however, these documents describe executions at this spot under circumstances evidently derived from trustworthy sources. Such, for instance, is the case with regard to the death of the above martyrs, Abdon and Sennen, whose bodies, as we stated, were exposed at the Colossus of Nero.

It is equally difficult to pass judgment upon the frame of mind in which Christians visited the Coliseum during the fifth and sixth centuries. Many must have felt moved when recalling those martyrdoms brought before them in the Acts only just set in circulation. Yet, as we know, the public sports in the arena continued, though minus the gladiatorial combats. Many others continued therefore as of old to regard the Coliseum merely as a public theatre worthy of Rome's colossal grandeur. This point of view was predominant throughout mediæval times, when the building for long served as a fortress. No service in the Coliseum to commemorate its many martyrs is ever mentioned. Not before the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an attempt made to revive the memory of the willing victims who laid down their lives for the Christian faith within these stately ruins.[1]

[1] *Abdon et Sennen, Acta SS.*, VII., Iulii, 30, p. 149. The legend states that St. Symphronius with his wife and offspring were executed at the *statua solis iuxta amphitheatrum*. Ibid., VI., Iulii, 26, p. 142; XXXV., Augusti, 2, p. 302. Cp. JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 419. Objections were raised against the long list of Coliseum martyrs brought forward by MARANGONI (*Anfiteatro flavio*, p. 20 ff.), both in the *Realencyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer* (1, 312) and by other authorities. The question has recently been critically discussed by the Bollandist, Hippolyte Delehaye, in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1897, fasc. 4, and his results have been partially included in our text.

157. If the Flavian Amphitheatre seemed the embodiment of Roman grandeur, but also of its coarse deterioration in force and feeling under the Empire, the neighbouring twin Temples of **Venus** and **Roma** mirrored the Roman's existence in a picture far more seductive and flattering. There the goddess Venus was worshipped as ancestress of the Roman race and Mother of the *Gens Iulia;* whilst Roma, mistress of the world, was there accorded a place among the gods. What proud self-consciousness might thus swell the breast of a Roman, but also, alas, what degradation might be veiled under the name of Venus! This twofold temple, built by the Emperor Hadrian, with its square artificial platform, was the most extensive in Rome. The outside colonnade enclosed an area no less than 528 feet in length and 337 in breadth. This and the inside colonnade contained two hundred majestic pillars. Some idea of their size is given by the marble or granite shafts and bases still strewn over the almost bare site. We still see how the lofty *cellae* of the two temples touched each other, having a common axis. The Temple of Venus faced the Coliseum, that of Roma faced the Forum, from which it was entered. Of all the magnificent columns shown on the ground-plan (Ill. 50)[1] not a single one is now standing upright. The Einsiedeln Itinerary calls both temples together Trajan's *Palatium.* This description is a beginning of the mediæval habit of ignorantly bestowing on so many temples the title of palaces. In the eighth century, when the Itinerary was written, classical monuments in general were steadily lapsing into oblivion. During the period of Rome's transition, the twin temples stood silent, and with closed doors, shunned by Christian pilgrims as haunts of demons.

158. The Arch of Titus, on the *Summa Sacra Via* is, as we know, the triumphal gateway erected to commemorate the taking of Jerusalem and the subjection of the Jewish nation. We have already had occasion to institute a comparison between this trophy of heathen triumph over the chief city and the religion of Palestine, and the triumph of Christianity as exemplified in the destruction of the Capitoline Temple, *i.e.* over heathenism, summed up in Rome's most sacred fane. At the present juncture, the proximity of the Arch of Constantine and of the Jewish symbols on that of Titus, again invite us to a comparison. Just as the Arch of Titus

[1] From BAUMEISTER, Pl. 4, 2. Some details are more correctly given in the smaller plan to the right of Ill. 58.

immortalises the fall of Judaism, according to Christ's prediction the work of the Romans, so the Arch of Constantine figures in some sense the collapse of Roman Paganism on the advent of a Christian-minded Emperor. Both arches bear witness to the power of the God of the Christians, then engaged in preparing a new era for the mistress of the world.

The vessels from the Jewish Temple represented on the arch deserve close attention. The seven-branched candlestick carried by the soldiers in the pageant would seem to be a true copy, though on a lesser scale, of the famous *Lychnuchus*, and the same may be said of the table of the shewbread and of the trumpets crossed in front of it. The then custom in art was, when possible, to depict such important objects as these with great accuracy. This consideration, coupled with the desire to make this oft-mentioned sculpture better known, is our excuse for including in this work a large new photograph of the same (see above, No. 66, Ill. 17).[1]

The inscription on the Arch of Titus runs in the usual laconic classic style: "The Senate and the Roman People to the Divine Titus, son of the Divine Vespasian (and) to the Emperor Vespasian." The large clear-cut inscription was frequently copied from earliest times. In the early Middle Ages it was even made to do service as a model for boys learning to write. We still possess a piece of marble on which a beginner, in the sixth or seventh century, has scratched the inscription, together with all the characters of the alphabet; in this case the inscription is preceded by the cross usual in epigraphical texts. Nor is this the only inscription which thus fell into the hands of children, for, so long as a glimmer of former culture survived at Rome, the monuments of the city served as a school for youth.[2]

[1] GREGOROVIUS (I⁴, 205), by a curious process of reasoning, argues that since the objects displayed on the foot of the candlestick, "figures of animals, monsters of the deep, and eagles," were "prohibited by Judaism," the candlestick cannot have been truly represented. His authority for the statement is the obsolete author RELANDUS, *De spoliis templi hierosol. in arcu Titiano* (Trai. a. Rhen., 1716). See, on the other hand, *re* the figures actually existing in Solomon's Temple, *Exodus*, xxv., 18–20; xxvi., 1; xxx., 18; 3 *Kings*, vi., 23–28; vii., 23; x., 19 ff.; 2 *Chron.*, iv., 2 ff. Josephus speaks indeed of the subsequent exaggerations of Judaism regarding application of the command in *Exodus*, xx., 2 ff.; *Deut.*, iv., 15 ff. According to his own statement (*Wars*, VII., ch. v., No. 5), the candlestick of Herod's Temple must have preserved the form and ornaments of the ancient one; this makes it increasingly probable that the representation on the Arch of Titus gives the original form of the candlestick.

[2] The inscription on the arch is in *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 945. The Einsiedeln Itinerary has a copy (No. 37). DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1881, p. 137, and *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 48, gives a picture of the marble fragment with the alphabet and the

The view which we obtain from the Arch of Titus over the Roman Forum in its entirety, invites us to consider the monuments of this area.

The Roman Forum in Early Christian Times

159. From the Arch of Titus the scene presented in the direction of the Capitol was almost overpoweringly grand. It was the show-place of the world, an exhibition of monuments, witnesses all to a mighty history—having its centre in this comparatively narrow space. Temples in serried ranks, vast secular basilicas—rising several stories high upon marble pillars. Triumphal arches and memorial monuments, all glorious with sculpture and inscriptions, and on the left the towering Imperial palaces of the Palatine. Such were here the surroundings of the famous "Sacred Way."

The *Sacra Via* at first descends to the right, then skirts the rectangle of the *Forum*, properly so-called, and then again ascends, in a broad curve, to the Capitol, which forms the north-western boundary of this historic arena.

It is possible to identify with great accuracy the classical route usually followed across the Forum during the declining days of the Empire. Every foot of ground, so to speak, on this memorable spot has been searched and examined. Following the *Sacra Via*, people passed in front of the Temple of Roma, under the Triumphal Arch of the Fabii (still standing in the Middle Ages), and thence before the high marble steps of the Temple of Faustina. After this they made their way round the Temple of the "Divine Julius" (Cæsar) lying in the centre, passing through the Triumphal Arch of Augustus, and so into the Forum proper. The rectangle of the Forum began opposite the end of the *Vicus tuscus*. Passing between the still visible bases of the eight memorial columns or statues to the right, and the far-stretching *Basilica Iulia* to the left, they would reach the Atrium of the Temple of Saturn, at present still indicated by the long rows of upright pillars. The *Sacra Via* leaves this on the left and then goes on to the

inscription. The piece of stone was found in 1877 in the soil of the Circus Flaminius. A similar exercise is in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1887, p. 224. De Rossi writes upon the alphabets in the *Bullettino archeologico cristiano*, 1881, p. 132, &c.

Clivus capitolinus. This steep road mounts to the Capitol under the open porticoes of the Capitoline *Tabularium*, commanding the whole area of the Forum. From the open space at the Capitol the road arrives to the left on the great plateau of the Temple of Highest Jove. Any one wishing to proceed from the Forum to the ninth region or to St. Peter's would, according to the Itineraries, turn to the right before the Temple of Saturn, and cross the height bounding the Forum along the *Clivus argentarius.*

160. We, however, are in no such hurry to quit the great monuments on the Forum, especially as just here a number of smaller Christian places of worship, though not *Tituli*, deserve a passing glance. Even here, in this gorgeous world of Paganism, we may witness the beginning of mediæval Christian Rome. We shall therefore pass in review these Christian shrines, at the same time giving a rapid glance at the classical buildings interspersed amongst them. We again start from our former halting-place, the Arch of Titus.

The first monument or building mentioned by the Einsiedeln Itinerary as nearest to the Arch of Titus is what it terms the *Testamentum.* The name never appears in earlier history, and could scarcely denote a heathen structure or memorial. It might seem that the name originated in the illustrations from the Old Testament on the Arch of Titus; yet, according to the context of the Itinerary, it must have been something distinct from the arch itself, for we are told that to one coming from the Coliseum it would appear on the right, before the Arch was reached. In the Middle Ages there stood on this spot a tower which, owing to its being used for the custody of the archives, was called *turris cartularia.* It may be that the *Testamentum* was a forerunner of this tower, and served for the care of public deeds, such as wills, *i.e.* testaments, &c.[1]

161. The same Einsiedeln guide, immediately after passing through the Arch of Titus, points out an *aeclesia S. Petri* to the right. It was for long a puzzle to decide which church dedicated to the apostle could be thus alluded to. It was even surmised that the allusion was to the far-distant titular church of St. Peter *ad Vincula.* There can, however, be little doubt that the reference is to another *Oratorium* lying elsewhere on the Forum, in all

[1] LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 499 ff.

probability to the chapel standing in front of the Temple of Roma, of which the origin is associated with the legends of the encounter which the Prince of the Apostles had there with Simon Magus.[1]

This point of the *Sacra Via* appears very early, at least in the fifth century, in connection with the marvellous tales told about **Simon the Magician** and his attempt to fly through the air with the help of demons, as well as of his wonderful fall, the result of St. Peter's prayer. There is now ample reason for relegating to fiction the story of the flight, nor are the statements guaranteed which speak of Simon's sojourn at Rome. Still, confining ourselves to very early beliefs and traditions, it is a fact that Arnobius, in 303, speaks already of this flight, whilst at an even earlier date we find allusions to a visit made by Simon Magus to Rome, though with no reference to his flight. Such allusions are first found in Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, and in the *Philosophumena*.[2] So far as our sources reach we cannot, however, trace the connection of the encounter with this spot on the *Sacra Via* beyond the apocryphal "Acts of Peter and Paul," which, at the earliest, belong to the fifth century. Here mention is even made of the stones lying on the spot, which "to this day" are a memorial of the Apostles' triumph over the magician. Gregory of Tours, towards the end of the sixth century, also tells us of two stones in Rome, which, he says, have been preserved "unto this day," and upon which the two Apostles left the marks of their knees when they prayed against Simon the magician.[3]

[1] The expression *aeclesia sancti Petri* in the *Einsiedlensis* has nothing to do with the following *ad vincula*, which is the beginning of a new sentence: *ad vincula* is an allusion to the other church of St. Peter, not so very far off, on the Esquiline. My learned friend, Lanciani, to whom in 1890 I submitted these remarks about the Oratory of St. Peter on the Forum, expressed his perfect agreement, and likewise corroborated what I shall have to say further on concerning the church on the Forum, which the *Einsiedlensis* calls "*S. Maria antiqua*."

[2] ARNOB., *Adversus gentes*, 2, c. 12. JUSTIN., *Dial. cum Tryphone*, c. 120. *Apol.*, I., c. 26 (on the altar erected to Simon by the Pagan Romans, with the alleged inscription, *Simoni, deo sancto*). *Apol.*, I., c. 56. Cp. EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 13 ff. IRENÆUS, *Adversus haer.*, I., c. 23, Nos. 1–4. TERTULL., *De anima*, c. 34. *Philosophumena*, 6, c. 7 ff., 20.

[3] *Acta Petri et Pauli* (Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, ed. LIPSIUS, Lipsiæ, 1891), No. 77, p. 211: Καὶ τέσσαρα μέρη γενόμενος τέσσαρας σίλικας συνήνωσεν, οἵ εἰσιν εἰς μαρτύριον τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων νίκης ἕως τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν. Cp. the so-called PSEUDO-MARCELLUS, *Passio SS. apostolorum Petri et Pauli*, No. 56, ibid., p. 167. GREGOR. TURON., *In gloria mart.*, I., c. 27, ed. KRUSCH, p. 503: "*Extant hodieque apud urbem Romam duae in lapidae fossulae*," &c. Gregory had heard it said that the Apostles had embued the rain-water collected from the cavities of the stones with healing grace, provided their names were piously invoked. Till late in the Middle Ages people at Rome were wont to use the water thus. On the question of situation, see DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, 466, note 9.

The stones were indeed preserved in a chapel built on the spot in the *Sacra Via*, and popular faith in them continued firm throughout the Middle Ages. Towards the end of the eighth century, the Life of Paul I. in the *Liber pontificalis* alludes to the stones and the chapel, though not to the flight. At the beginning of the eighth century the flight had already been pictured in mosaic in the chapel of John VII. at the Vatican Basilica.[1]

The church of St. Peter, situated in the Forum and mentioned by the Einsiedeln Guide, can be none else than the oratory commemorative of this so popular flight.

Out of this oratory on the *Sacra Via* grew the church later on built in the very Atrium of the Temple of Roma, which in mediæval days was called *S. Maria Nova*, and which is now known as Santa Francesca Romana. In this we still find two pentagonal basaltic stones, such as were used for paving Roman roads. Simple folk are still convinced that these are the ancient stones of St. Peter, and are still wont to repeat the legend of Simon Magus.[2]

It is possible, as de Rossi says, that subsequent discoveries will throw some light on the obscure question of the origin and development of the Roman legend regarding Simon. At present it would really seem as though all the accounts of Simon's stay in Rome, in spite of their divergences, rest on the authority of St. Justin, the first to mention such a sojourn. Justin declares that the Pagan Romans had erected a statue to Simon upon the island of the Tiber, and that it bore the inscription, *Simoni, deo Sancto*. But the opinion that he was mistaken is only too well founded. On the Tiber island there was a statue dedicated to the Sabine god, Semo Sancus. Its inscription, *Semoni Sanco, sancto deo*, erroneously read as a dedication to the "Holy god, Simon," was apparently the occasion of the fatal mistake made by Justin and repeated by posterity.[3]

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 465, *Paulus I.*, No. 261: "*In via sacra iuxta templum Romae.*" For the mosaic of John VII., see GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 4, Pl. 282, No. 1.

[2] PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti di Roma* (Roma, 1625), p. 104. But compare also *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1663 (SIGNORILI), regarding an ancient marble pedestal.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 70: "*Della memoria topografica del sito ove cadde Simone*," &c. The *Semo Sancus* inscription, found on the Tiber island in July 1574, is in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 567. This god had another very ancient shrine on the Quirinal, on ground now occupied by the church of San Silvestro. The adjacent *Porta Sanqualis* derived its name from this. We have two inscriptions from this spot: one found during Baronius's lifetime, beginning with the words *Sanco sancto Semo(n) deo*, in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 568; the other, only known since 1880, commencing

Ill. 51.—View taken from the Roman Forum (North Side). (New photograph by Commendatore Carlo Tenerani.) A. Temple of Antoninus and Faustina. B. Rotunda of Romulus and remains of Constantine's Portico. C. Temple of Roma (SS Cosmas and Damian's). D. Mediæval Turris Militiarum. E. A building of Countess Mathilda. F. Portion of Constantine's Basilica.

Later on we shall see that the historical tradition about Simon Peter's stay in Rome is quite independent of the myth concerning Simon Magus. We mentioned the latter here only to explain the so-called church of St. Peter on the Forum. As has been already stated, no real historical connection between this spot and St. Peter can be traced in any source.[1]

The huge and majestic ruins of the Basilica of Constantine, also called *Basilica Nova*, rise beside the former Temple of Roma. The open galleries, towering towards heaven, though forming but a third of the ancient building, are still the grandest group of early Roman remains on the Forum. At the west end of the vast hall, in front of the terminal apse of the central nave, was placed a huge marble statue representing Constantine seated. Its remains, found in the neighbourhood in 1490, are now in the courtyard of the Curators' palace at the Capitol.[2] In the fifth and sixth century, when the whole building was intact and served its original purpose as a secular basilica, the roof sparkled with its costly covering of tiles in bronze-gilt. This decoration was removed by Pope Honorius (625–638), with the permission of the Emperor Heraclius, and transferred to the roof of St. Peter's in the Vatican. During the early Middle Ages, the Basilica of Constantine was mistakenly known as *Templum Romae*. It is possible that at that time one of its halls served for the same purpose as formerly the actual *Templum Romae*, to which we are now coming. The Einsiedeln MS. seems to refer to this basilica under the name of *Palatius Neronis* (*sic*). The name would, indeed, correspond with the position whence, according to the legend, the Emperor Nero witnessed the flight of Simon the magician. The identification of this basilica with the Ves-

Semoni Sanco sancto deo, LANCIANI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1881, p. 4; *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 105 (with reproduction of the pedestal bearing the inscription and of the statue standing upon it). I am perfectly acquainted with the arguments alleged in defence of Justin; they have been set forth by F. K(unstmann) in the *Historisch.-polit. Blätt.*, 47 (1861), 530 ff., and GINZEL, HERGENRÖTHER, and among others, quite lately, J. SCHMID, *Petrus in Rom* (1892), p. 106, have agreed with him. I think, however, that it is much more probable that St. Justin was guilty of a confusion; this is also the opinion of the *Analecta bollandiana*, 12 (1893), 452, of LANCIANI, as it also was of the elder Pagi, of Valois, &c.

[1] For the relation of the Simon legends to the historical statements regarding Peter, cp. DUCHESNE, *Bulletin crit.*, 1887, p. 161 (against LIPSIUS, *Apokryphe Apostelgesch.*, 2, 1, part, 1887).

[2] PETERSEN, *Dissert. della accad. rom. pont. di arch.*, 1899, p. 159 ff.; cp. the same author's work, *Aus dem alten Rom*, where photographs of the ruins will be found.

pasian Temple of Peace is a mere error of the nineteenth century.[1]

162. On the right side of our road the Basilica of Constantine is followed by the church of the Martyrs **Cosmas and Damian.** We already know that this church consists of two ancient structures. Its origin offers so many points of general interest, that we must linger here awhile (Ill. 52).[2]

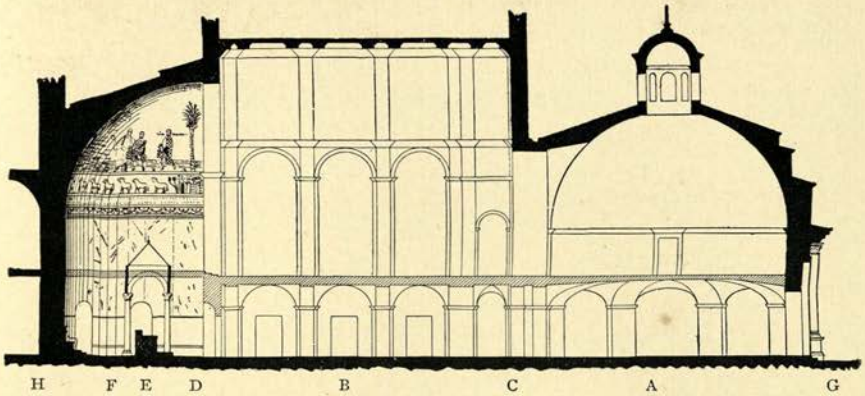
Pope Felix IV. (526–530) had received the two buildings as a gift during the reign of Amalasuntha, a queen of the Goths, who was favourably disposed to Catholics. He had asked for them in order to make of them a shrine for the two Cilician martyrs in question.

The larger building (B) was the so-called *Templum sacrae urbis*, already mentioned as the storehouse of the City Rolls, and the site of the marble plan of Rome; the other (A) was the Temple of Romulus, a small son of Maxentius, which had scarcely been built ere it was dedicated as a secular monument to Maxentius's victor, Constantine the Great. The former structure was a large rectangular hall, and was adapted for church purposes by the addition of a semi-circular apse (DH) and of an altar (EF). The apse was situated in the middle of an ancient wall, which intersected (D) the hall. Besides, this wall was also pierced by passages. Thus a space was obtained behind the altar, yet connected with the rest of the hall, and probably served as the *Matroneum*, *i.e.* women's quarters, that is, if we may judge by a comparison with other churches at Rome.

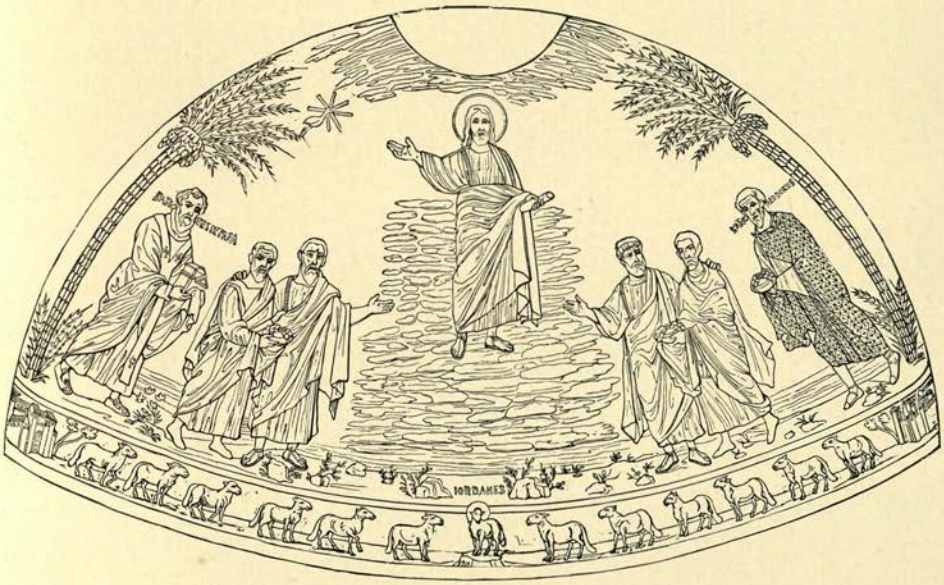
On the other hand, the Temple of Romulus, or rather of Constantine, which stood in front of the rectangular building, and actually on the *Sacra Via*, is a rotunda. Felix IV. made of it the vestibule of his new church, a passage (C) being cut through the walls; previously to this, the buildings, though they touched, had not had any means of communicating with each other. In former times the rectangular hall had its entrance under a portico at the side. Such an arrangement was not considered convenient

[1] *Palatius Neronis*, see LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 494. For the *Templum Romae* and *Templum Romuli*, see DUCHESNE, *Notes sur la topographie*, in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 6 (1886), 25 ff.; *Liber pont.*, 1, 279, note 3; 325, note 5; 466, note 9. How erroneous the name "Temple of Peace" really is was pointed out by NIBBY (*Roma antica*, 2, 688). Fuller details in HÜLSEN, *Das Forum Romanum*, n. xli.

[2] Drawing by the architect, F. Mazzanti, with the help of LETAROUILLY, *Édifices de Rome moderne*, Pl. 273. Of the old altar there remains only that portion shown in black at E F.



Ill. 52.—SS. Cosmas and Damian's on the Roman Forum. (Aedes sacrae urbis and Rotunda of Romulus.) (Section.)



Ill. 53.—Mosaic in the Concha of the Apse of SS. Cosmas and Damian's.

for the new church, and Felix IV., therefore, transferred the entrance to the beautifully decorated portals of the circular vestibule situated on the *Sacra Via* (G). This porch, even in the days of Constantine, was flanked with an ornamental row of columns. On the entablature of the eight columns, even in the sixteenth century, traces of the inscription could be seen with Constantine's name. These columns before the entrance are no longer all preserved, but the bronze door, with its richly worked lintel, is a piece of the original work of the beginning of the fourth century.[1]

In consequence of the steady accumulation of rubbish on the Forum, this entrance to the church and the antique bronze door had to be considerably raised by Urban VIII.; he also had the vestibule and the church divided to the roof by an inserted arch, adding a new pavement in order to acquire a corresponding height of floor. Owing to his work, these two classic buildings are now seen almost cut in half (Ill. 52). The cruel measure of Urban VIII. has destroyed the effect of the two venerable edifices, but it was characteristic in the history of the transformations of a city engaged, so to speak, in devouring its own self. Subsequently to the clearance, in 1879 and 1880, of the surrounding portion of the Forum, the bronze door was restored to its original position in the ancient portal.

Now that the reader has learnt all about the curious commencement of this church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, the first church to be established in a public edifice of Rome, let him, when entering the church, call to mind its condition at the period of Rome's outward transformation. Felix IV. was careful to leave *in situ* the rich marble casing of the walls of the *Templum sacrae urbis*, decorated in the purest classic taste. The same thing happened in other halls expropriated for church use; for instance, in that of Junius Bassus (S. Andrea Catabarbara), of the *Curia Senatus* and of its *Secretarium* (Sant' Adriano and Sta. Martina). The lights of the altar must have been very effectively reflected by the smooth marble walls, decorated with inlaid figures.

[1] On the two ancient buildings and their alteration into a church under Felix IV. (*Liber pont.*, I, 279, *Felix IV.*, No. 90), we have two excellent articles, one by DE ROSSI (*Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 61 ff.) and the other with fresh results by LANCIANI (*Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1882, p. 29 ff.), both with plans and early views. Cp. LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, Pl. 2. For the remains of the inscription of Constantine on the portico at the entrance, see DE ROSSI, ibid., and in the *Corp. inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1147.

163. In SS. Cosmas and Damian's the great figures of saints, in the mosaics of Felix IV., look down solemnly from the apse upon the Christian throng. No one could seriously contemplate this priceless work of ark—well-nigh fourteen centuries old, yet still in almost perfect preservation—without being conscious of the effect it must have wrought on the pious Christian world of its day. Its majestic figures are instinct with the grandeur of ancient art, touched by religious supernaturalism. The work ranks far above the late church mosaics of the first period of mediæval art in Rome, some of which were modelled on this very picture.

The composition of the subject in the concha of the apse bears some resemblance to the previously discussed picture in the apse of the Oratory of St. Felicitas (cp. Ills. 53 and 47). Here, too, the figure of Christ stands in the centre on fleecy pink clouds, with an expression of solemn, almost fearful, dignity. Holding their crowns, the two martyrs are coming towards him from the right and the left, the motion being well represented in both the persons and the drapery; the Apostles Peter and Paul, grand figures of rather larger size, standing on either side of our Saviour, point to Him as the Divine rewarder. Finally, St. Theodore and St. Felix stand at each end, the portrait of the latter being, however, not the original one. The whole scene is framed by two lofty palm-trees, the outstretched branch of one supporting a phœnix with a rayed nimbus, typifying the New Birth. Below may be seen the Jordan, the river of baptism and of grace; and on the lowest border are the twelve lambs, the Apostles, or the Faithful, coming from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem to the Lamb of God. The latter stands upon a flattened hillock bordered with gold stripes, whence issue the four streams, the mystic, life-giving waters of Paradise. Formerly, at the top of the picture, the hand of God appeared from heaven, holding the crown of glory and of victory over the head of Christ. Above this again, outside the concha of the apse, the flat surface of the wall above the arch still shows the picture added by Felix IV., and representing in an apocalyptic guise the Abode of the Blest, into which the two martyrs had entered. The seven mystic lamps surround the Lamb of God enthroned upon an altar, and four angels, classical airy figures, appear before Him ready for worship or service. The four evangelists, with their symbols (now scarcely visible), proclaim that the Lamb has

Ill. 54.—St. Peter and St. Cosmas.
(Roman Mosaic executed during the Gothic domination.)

brought the Truth into the world. Still lower, to the right and left, were grouped the Elders of the Apocalypse. Clothed in imposing white raiment, and offering their crowns, they unite with the angels and evangelists in endless praise of the Godhead of the Lamb.

What a world of symbolism to express a single idea! For a Christian of the time, lost in the study of this impressive picture, what a striking contrast between the grave calm of these heavenly forms and the old-time, worldly, heathen splendour of the Forum outside the threshold. The whole period, and Rome's own trials in particular, must have moved even a casual visitor to reflect. In this hall—so near to the scene of the world's grandest pomps, before whose doors victors of nations had swept past in triumph—the grave and mighty Judge of the world, depicted on the mosaic, has found a worthy place. It is a symbol of the anxiety, one might say of the terror, with which sinking Rome, so far as it realised its peril, looked up for help to the Saviour of mankind.

It is true that this work of art, so historically significant, betrays, when studied critically, several signs of the decline of artistic talent which had already set in. At the same time, it has retained the force and energy of Roman forms, enabling us to see how beautifully the loftiness of Christian thought blends with the vigour peculiar to the old Roman artists (Ill. 54).[1] Some have indeed detected a Byzantine character in the great mosaic. They are, however, mistaken, for Byzantine art began to obtain a footing at Rome only towards the end of that century. The picture is not Byzantine, but thoroughly Roman, the treatment showing no trace of the Byzantine rigidity and coldness of the next age, nor the empty parade of glittering detail peculiar to Byzantine work of the decadence.[2]

[1] Photograph by Alinari of Rome. The type of countenance here given St. Peter (cp. with Ills. 66, 67, 68, and in the following volume with Ills. 136, 137, 141, 142, 143), illustrates the traditional portrayal of the Prince of the Apostles.

[2] DE ROSSI deals with the mosaic picture (*Musaici di Roma*, fasc. 5–6) in the commentary on his beautiful coloured reproduction of the same. Cp. GARRUCCI, *Arte cristiana*, 4, Pl. 253. Gregorovius (I^4, 331) gives a poetic description of it, containing several statements not true to fact. RIO, *De l'art chrét.*, I^2 (Paris, 1874), 48: "Un des plus beaux qui nous restent de l'école romano-chrétienne." The value of the mosaic cannot at present be duly appreciated, for the new pavement of Urban VIII. raises the visitor too close to the work of art; nor can the disturbing influence of the modern altar and its theatrical surroundings be too deeply deplored. See our section (Ill. 52) with the apse and altar in their ancient situation. The figure of Christ alone shows a trace of Byzantine influence. See A. BAUMSTARK in *Oriens christianus*, 3 (1903), p. 198.

164. The Sanctuary of SS. Cosmas and Damian on the *Sacra Via* not only affords us a glimpse of the Roman Christian art of the period, but also of certain characteristics of Rome's service and liturgy. It is, therefore, only right that we should now turn our attention to these traits of Christian worship at its dawn.

The inscription of Felix IV., of which the golden letters still blaze upon the mosaic, proclaims that "this House of God —with its brilliant marble ornaments, henceforth shining with enhanced splendour through the light of Faith—is dedicated to two physician-martyrs who have come to the people with the sure hope of salvation."[1]

In the East the two martyrs Cosmas and Damian had long been revered as potent mediators before God in earthly troubles, particularly in sickness. It was said that even during their lifetime they had, as physicians, been ready to help the sick, having also healed them by the supernatural power of prayer; throughout the East, in consequence, people hastened, when in need, to the tomb of these "unpaid" (*Anargyri* was their Greek title of honour) healers. Wonderful stories were told of the astonishing miracles constantly wrought at their tomb in answer to pious demand.[2]

The Church has always held that our Lord, who by His own mouth taught us to pray for our daily bread, is also ready to listen to the saints who forward the petitions of mankind praying for relief in sickness. By sanctioning invocation of the saints, she gave expression to the belief in the communion of the faithful of the Church-militant with the departed saints, and thus met a craving of man's heart.

Close association with the East brought the worship of these two saints to Rome, and, doubtless, also some of their relics. Pope Symmachus had already dedicated an oratory to them near the Esquiline Basilica of St. Mary.[3] Their names were inserted in the canon of the liturgy, they being the last saints to be thus honoured. Beyond these two Easterns, the only other saint mentioned in this portion of the canon of the Mass is

[1] See the inscription, *Analecta romana*, I, 81; DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones christianae*, II., I, p. 71, 134, 152; DUCHESNE, *Liber pontificalis*, I., 280. It says in verse 3: "*Martyribus medicis populo spes certa salutis | Venit*," &c.

[2] *Acta SS.*, VII., Septembris 27, p. 48.

[3] *Liber pont.*, I, 262, *Symmachus*, No. 80.

—apart from the Apostles and Roman martyrs—the African St. Cyprian. Africa and the East seem to be represented to prove the universality of the Roman Church.

The ancient Mass for the feast of SS. Cosmas and Damian has for its introit the words: "Let the people show forth the wisdom of the saints" (Eccli. xliv. 15). In all probability this is the very formula first used at the dedication of the new church on the Forum. The text on the "Wisdom of the Saints" may have been selected for the honour of the two wise and saintly physicians. In the course of the same Mass the deacon reads as the Gospel, with unmistakable reference to the miracles worked by Cosmas and Damian, the words of St. Luke: "For virtue went out from Him and healed all." The passage in the Bible refers to Christ, to whom, as it says in that Gospel, great multitudes came from all Judea and Jerusalem, from Tyre and Sidon, in the hope of relief. It was then a popular liturgical custom to apply Holy Writ to the most varied pious subjects. In this case, the passage was intended to show that Christ's healing power to a certain extent was shared by both these saints, though the real source was in Christ. In the Gradual of the Mass, praise was offered Him for His help, and again in biblical words: "He delivered them out of all their troubles. He will save the humble of spirit." Liturgical formulæ drafted in those early ages often contain still more striking allusions expressed in the words of the Bible. As the language of the liturgies was still the popular tongue of the faithful, such texts and their application offered food for meditation and devotion to the humblest, as well as to the enlightened faith of the cultured.[1]

The original forms of prayer kept their place in the Sacramentary, and, later, in the missals of the Roman Church, with wonderful tenacity. To this day the priest celebrating Mass on September 27th, *i.e.* on the feast of the two holy physicians, still reads the same Mass, with the biblical passages just quoted, drawn up ages ago for use in the church on the Roman Forum. Nor is this all; this Mass, beginning with the words *Sapientiam sanctorum*, soon came to be used generally as the "Mass for several martyrs" (*commune plurimorum martyrum*). This ex-

[1] "*Sapientiam ipsorum* (*sanctorum*) *narrent populi, et laudem* (*laudes*) *eorum nuntiet ecclesia*" (*Eccli.* xliv. 15). "*Virtus de illo exibat et sanabat omnes*" (*Luc.*, vi. 19). "*Ex omnibus tribulationibus eorum liberavit eos*," &c. (*Ps.* xxxiii. 18).

plains why the introit of martyrs generally dwells upon their "wisdom," the reference being originally to that of our two saints and physicians. This also explains the apparent anomaly of the Gospel in the Mass for Martyrs, which mainly refers to the healing powers of Christ.

For elucidation of another detail of early liturgical language, we may add that the Station Mass, introduced by Gregory II. (715–731) for the Thursday after the third Sunday in Lent, expressly mentions our saints in the Collect, and emphasises the "ineffably great help" which they were the means of bringing to the Christian people. To understand this, we must remember that on this day the church which served as the station was that of SS. Cosmas and Damian. This, again, explains why the Gospel of the Station Mass recounts the story of the miraculous cure of Peter's mother-in-law, lying sick of a fever. Finally, when in the same Mass the priest in the post-communion implores, through the intercession of the saints, "certain salvation," this expression sounds like a literal echo of the inscription of Felix IV., under the mosaic in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, which celebrates the advent of the martyrs as a "sure hope of salvation." Prayer—the lifting up of the heart to God—has at all times loved simple language, just because it is the lifting up of the heart, and not of the intellect.[1]

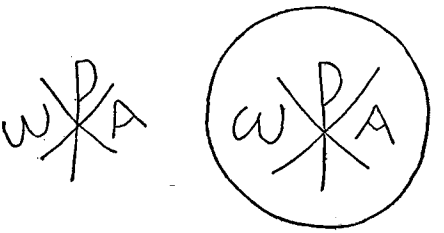
165. Quitting the two ancient buildings into which Christianity infused a new life, and returning to the *Via Sacra*, we pass on to another group of heathen structures, which, however, even in that remote age, were already empty and deserted. They, even then, had become a mere burden on the State, obstinately clinging to memories of grandeur and of gods for which a newer generation cared but little.

The first temple was that of the deified Faustina and of Antoninus Pius, adjacent to which is the oldest Pagan cemetery of Rome, discovered in 1902. In later times it was to become the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. Even at the present day it makes a fine picture, fronted by its ten columns of

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 402, *Gregorius II.*, No. 182. *Feria* 5 *post Dom.* 3 *Quadrag.*, *Oratio: Magnificet te, Domine, sanctorum tuorum Cosmae et Damiani beata solemnitas, qua et illis gloriam sempiternam et opem nobis ineffabili providentia contulisti. Per Dominum*, &c. *Postcommunio: Sit nobis, Domine, sacramenti tui certa salvatio, quae cum beatorum martyrum tuorum Cosmae et Damiani meritis imploratur. Per Dominum*, &c.

Cipollino marble; it has also some splendid sculptures along the frieze of the side wall, made to figure griffins and candelabra (Ill. 51).

When, during the recent excavations in 1876, the lower part of the columns, until then buried, was laid bare, well-engraved heathen designs were brought to light, as well as some Christian signs, particularly two monograms of Christ belonging to the period of Constantine, each accompanied by the Alpha and Omega (Ill. 55). Though the symbols of Christ are badly executed, not having been cut with a chisel, but merely scratched with an iron point in the soft stone, yet their very presence at this spot is full of meaning. Judging by their form, they must date from the turn of the fourth and the fifth century, when the Temple had already fallen under the censure of the public. A zealous Christian seems to have fancied that in this manner he might purge this abode of demons.[2]



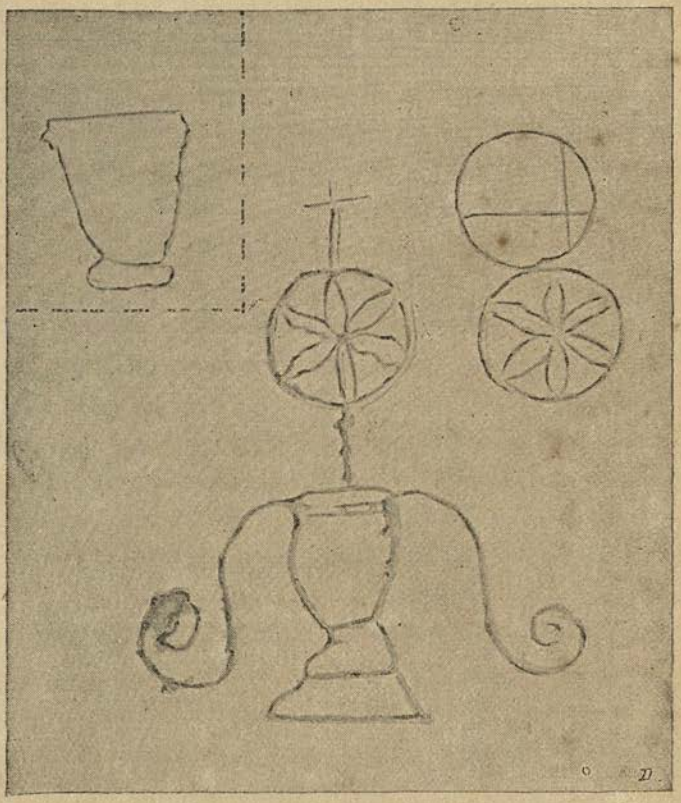
Ill. 55.—Christian Monogram at the Temple of Faustina on the Roman Forum.[1]

Nor is it to be wondered at that enthusiastic Christians should have been anxious to affix the sign of the triumph of Christianity upon the gloomy, hated temples of heathendom. A certain spiteful joy at the fate which had overtaken them may also sometimes have impelled such Christians. The writer of these lines was lucky enough to find at the back of the circular temple of the *Mater Matuta*—popularly called the Temple of Vesta—one of these scratched drawings (*graffiti*) belonging to an age not much later, and which we therefore figure here (Ill. 56). At a point where the plaster had only lately been cleared away from the marble, a chalice surmounted by a cross was visible, and also a goblet or beaker, both still of the antique form of the *calix* and *poculum* of the Romans, forms never again met with in the Middle Ages. A cross rises above the chalice. This makes the

[1] My own drawing, reproduced from an article in the *Civiltà catt.*, 1897, I *Archeologia*, p. 721.

[2] Lacour-Gayet in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, I (1881), 226 ff., without a copy of the monogram.

Christian sense of the designs a certainty; the circular incised objects lying near them represent loaves, as they were known in antiquity. The idea that a eucharistic representation was intended by the draughtsman was confirmed by the leading archæological experts of Rome. An unknown Christian, probably of the sixth century, had therefore sought to sanctify in some sort these unholy walls. Other crosses of other forms upon these



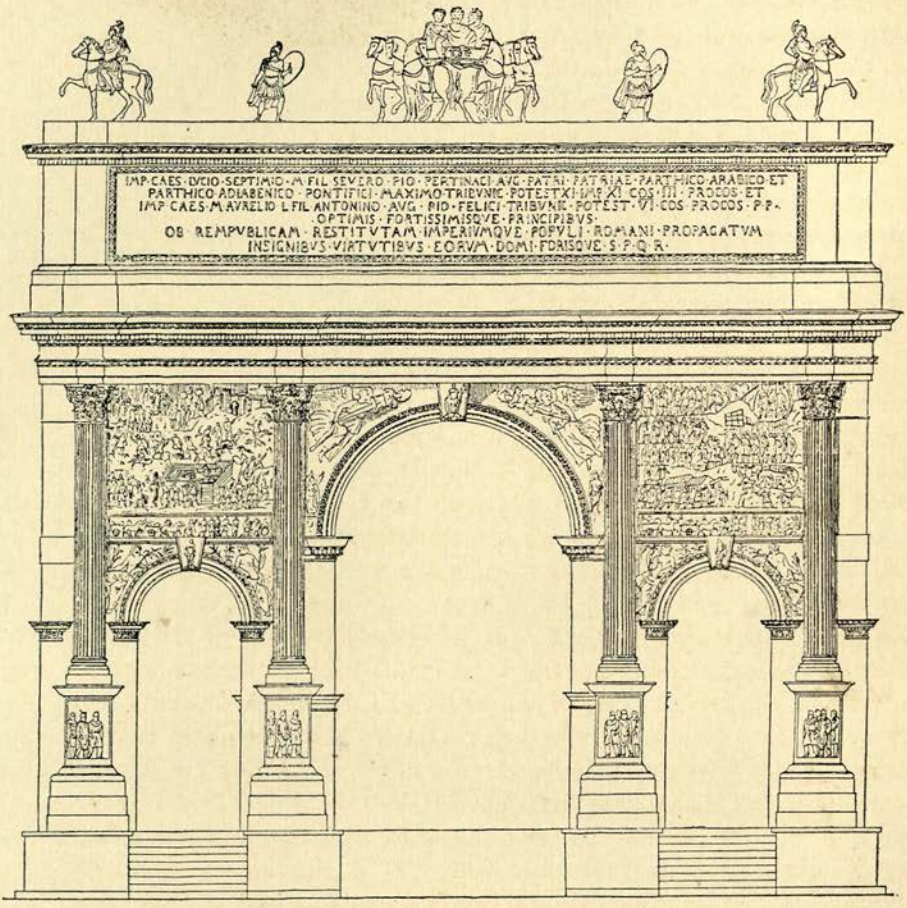
Ill. 56.—Chalice and Altar-breads on a Marble Wall of the Temple of Mater Matuta in Rome.[1]

same temple walls must be ascribed to a like purpose. In the Atrium of St. Clement's Basilica, again, a cross-monogram exists upon one of the ancient columns, which, judging by appearances, originally formed part of a heathen edifice.[2] A similar monogram with the A and Ω may be seen in the atrium of St. Peter's.

166. The Temple of Julius Cæsar (*aedes divi Iulii*) comes

[1] From my article in the *Civiltà*.

[2] See my first communication relative to the find in the Temple of the *Mater Matuta* in the *Bullett. arch. crist.* of de Rossi, 1894, p. 123, and my article, *Civiltà catt.*, 1897, 1, 721 ff. In the Atrium of St. Clement, see the first column on the right.



Ill. 57.—Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus on the Roman Forum.
(Partially reconstructed.)

next after that of Faustina, as we pursue our way onward. It still has its rostrum, once upon a time surrounded by an attentive throng, though, by the fifth century, the stream of heathen oratorical talent must have been well-nigh dry. Next comes the spacious *Basilica Æmilia* furnished by Augustus with columns of Phrygian marble. After that the Temple of Janus, with its statue of the god, of which Procopius states that it was destroyed by an impious hand in the sixth century. This fine building is known to us through drawings made by artists of the Renaissance, the ruins having survived to that period. Continuing on the same side of the actual Forum we see on the farther side of the *Argiletum*—a street which terminates here—the open place of the *Comitium*, with its legendary tomb of Romulus, or *Lapis niger*, lately discovered, and behind it the *Curia Senatus*, a building restored by Diocletian (Ill. 24). The days of this building were then already numbered, for the corporation of which it was the Curia was on the point of disappearing from history. The adjacent *Secretarium Senatus* has also reached the end of its secular course. Both were soon to be transformed into churches by Pope Honorius.[1] They stand to the present day as Sant' Adriano and Santa Martina. At this point the well-preserved and majestic Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus broke the line of buildings (Ill. 57). Though this massive monument, blocking the road, disturbed to some extent the harmony of its surroundings, yet its heavy structure was not devoid of a certain grace, due to the fine proportion of the three openings, of the pillars and entablature, and to the rich design of the relievo work setting forth the victories of Septimius Severus over the Parthians and Arabians.

Close by the Arch of Severus were the famous Rostra, that one-time centre of the political agitation on the Forum.[2]

How greatly Rome had changed even early in the Middle Ages may be seen from the fact that not so long after, almost on the very site of the Rostra, and near the Arch of Severus, there was erected the deaconry of the Greek Saints Sergius

[1] On the Temple of Janus, see LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi*, I (1902), p. 92. On the *Lapis niger*, see HÜLSEN, *Das römische Forum*, n. xvii.; PETERSEN, *Comitium, Rostra, Grab des Romulus*, 1904.

[2] According to the Constantinian list, the eighth region contained *Rostra tria*. See reconstructions of the *Rostra magna* in HÜLSEN'S plan of the Forum, and in LAUNITZ'S *Wandtafeln*, 29, 1894. The best pictorial (photographic) reconstruction of the Forum (western side and Capitol) is that of G. GATTESCHI.

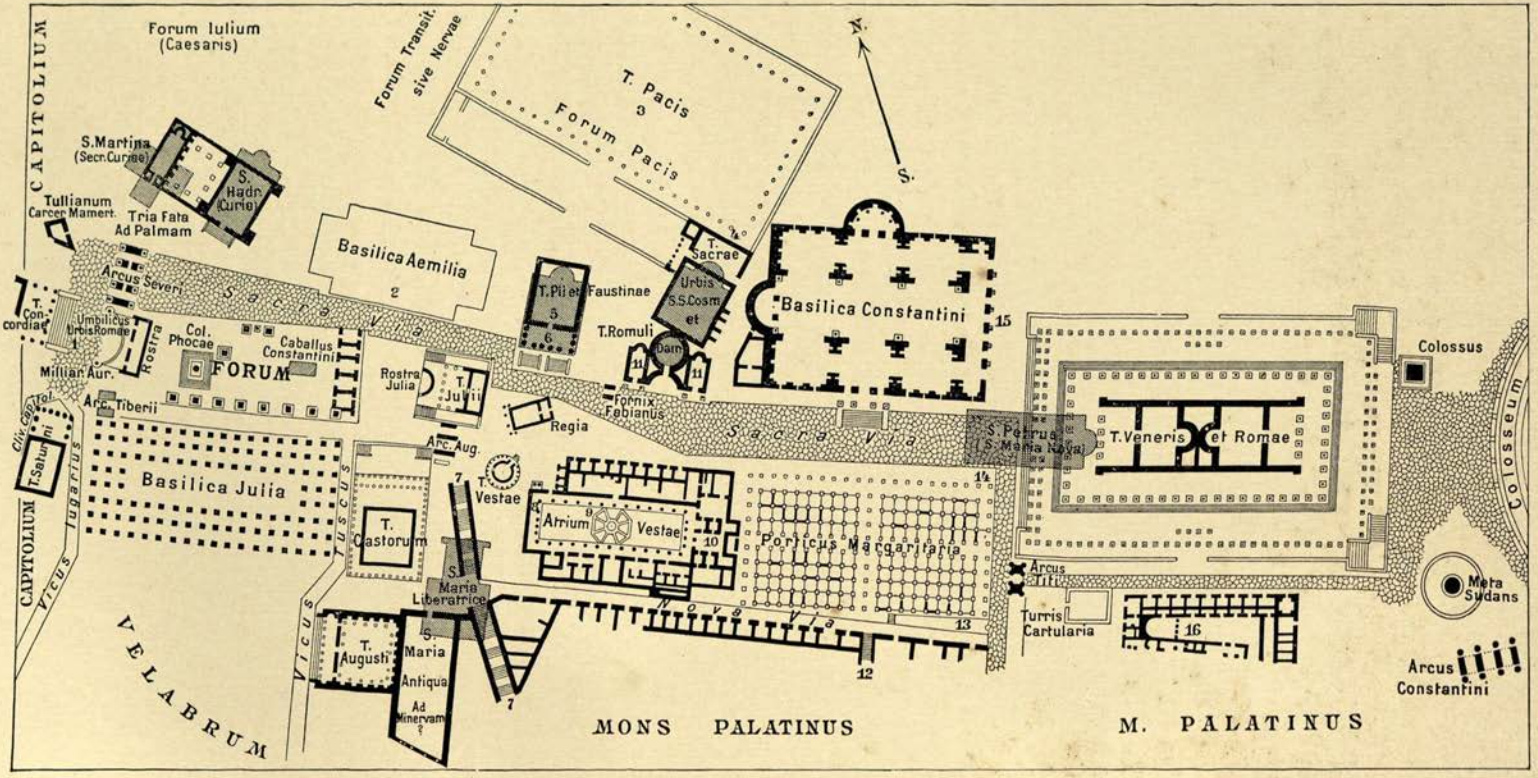
and Bacchus, to feed the hungry inhabitants of the fallen city.

Who can say what became of the *Umbilicus Romae* and of the *Miliarium aureum* in the general wreck? There are still some rough stumps of masonry at the side of the old ascent to the Rostra, where these once famous monuments stood in Imperial days. The Einsiedeln Guide mentions the *Umbilicus* in the passage in which it speaks of the deaconry just mentioned.[1]

167. Turning now to the eastern wall of the Capitol, which here rises high above the Forum, we shall see a great concourse of classical structures which, so to speak, dispute every inch of ground. The ambition of the Emperors, each desirous of leaving here some extravagant monument, seems to have contended for the limited room. Such crowding was not advantageous to the buildings, which all appeared crushed, one elbowing the other. The roofs and summits of these edifices, thronged with statues, rose up towards the open galleries of the Capitoline *Tabularium* for all the world like a forest of gilt metal and richly worked stone. They stand there under the protection of Highest Jove, whose great world-sanctuary seated on the southern summit of the Capitol had even then become the prey of the elements.[2] The great Temple of Concord is the first thing to strike us, though it is almost hidden by the Arch of Severus. Next we see the *aedes divi Vespasiani*, of which at present only the massive corner-columns of the Atrium survive. The *Schola Xantha* adjoins it on the left. Farther on, already under the ascent of the *Clivus Capitolinus*, the portico of the twelve gods (*dii consentes*) found its place. We already know that this has immortalised a name peculiarly obnoxious to Christians, that of Vettius Agorius Prætextatus, its restorer, the friend of Julian the Apostate, and patron of the Vestals, who was City Prefect in 367. The *aedes Saturni*, once the depository for the Treasury, stands before it. The eight picturesque pillars of the Atrium owe their preservation to having been restored by one of the first Christian Emperors. Opposite it was the Arch of Tiberius, only recently discovered anew. The five aisles of the *Basilica Iulia* stretch towards the south. No one who has ever visited the excavated Forum could

[1] "*Sancti Sergii. Ibi umbilicum Romae*" (LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 494).

[2] In close proximity to these monuments, near Sant' Adriano, there was in the Middle Ages a limekiln, in which the then Romans burnt the marble purloined from the four Forums. See LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi*, I (1902), p. 25.



Ill. 58.—Plan of the Roman Forum and Sacra Via.

forget the melancholy sight of the rows of bases, now replaced in position, which once supported its columns. These reach down to the line under which the *Cloaca maxima* intersects the Forum. Beside the opening of the great drain, here visible, once stood the little temple of *Venus Cloacina*, or the Venus of the Sewers. On the farther side of the ancient street which ends here, called *Vicus tuscus*, we come at once to the large and artistic *aedes Castoris*, or Temple of the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. After the victory at the lake Regillus they appeared here, watered their horses at the Juturna fountain, and gave the Romans tidings of the successful battle. Behind this, at the north angle of the Palatine, rises a square edifice, built of particularly fine bricks, which long remained unidentified. Quite lately Lanciani has shown it to be the *aedes divi Augusti*, a temple to the first Emperor to be ranked among the gods.[1]

At the side of the shrine of the Dioscuri stood the slender little circular temple of *Mater Vesta*. Visitors to the Forum, at the time of which we are treating, *i.e.* in the years succeeding the downfall of the Empire, would no longer see curling above the golden roof of the Temple of Vesta the smoke of the perpetual fire. In the neighbouring *Atrium Vestae*, or abode of the Vestals, not a priestess remains to keep watch over the former National Palladium. The building had, no doubt, become the residence of some official owning allegiance to the German masters of the Palatine, possibly of some Byzantine dignitary. The same will probably have been true of the *Regia*, which had formerly lodged the *Pontifex maximus*, situated in the middle of the plain of the Forum. The inscriptions upon this edifice, hallowed by earliest Roman traditions, proudly announced it to be the venerable seat of the kings, the first of whom, Romulus, was descended from Mars and Rhea. The original, graven on marble and only recently found, of this solemn attestation of Romulus's divine

[1] LANCIANI, on the Temple of Augustus, *Notizie degli scavi*, 1883, Pl. 22; *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 101, 103 (with the drawing made in 1549 by Pirro Ligorio), after MIDDLETON, *Remains of Rome*², 1, 275, Fig. 35. The oft-mentioned bridge which Caligula, according to Suetonius, threw across from the Palatine—over the Temple of Augustus and the Basilica Iulia—to the Capitol, cannot have been more than a mere structure of wood (LANCIANI, l.c.).

Ill. 58 from LANCIANI, *Forma urbis Romae*, with some slight changes, for instance, the addition of the recently discovered steps in front of the Temple of Castor. The remains of the *Basilica Æmilia*, and a few other topographical details, involving, however, no great alteration in the figure, were discovered after the present plan was already prepared. The church of S. Maria Liberatrice has disappeared in the course of the latest excavations. For the Temple of Venus and Roma, see Ill. 50.

ancestry is preserved in the Capitol. The ancient consular *fasti*, outside the *Regia*, formerly told the people the history of their glorious past, one half of it being true and the remainder fabulous.

168. During the early years of the Middle Ages one edifice in this neighbourhood proved very attractive to the piety of the populace. This was an unpretentious little Christian oratory, hidden in the *Nova Via*, immediately behind the Temple of Vesta, at the foot of the Palatine Hill. We refer to **S. Maria antiqua,** the earliest predecessor of the modern church of Sta. Maria Liberatrice.

This building had a remarkable history, which has been elucidated only in our own day; it is to be hoped that further information will be forthcoming from future excavations. In the church list belonging to the beginning of the seventh century, and published by de Rossi, the first churches dedicated to our Lady in Rome are mentioned in the following order: *Sancta Maria maior, sancta Maria antiqua, sancta Maria rotunda, sancta Maria transtiberis.* We are now speaking of the second of these, of *sancta Maria antiqua*, or Old St. Mary's. This has been thought to be that church later called *S. Maria nova* (now Sta. Francesca Romana); the name was said to have been altered from *antiqua* to *nova* in consequence of certain restorations. But, as we have previously seen, it is much more likely that *S. Maria nova* took the place of the Oratory of St. Peter on the *Sacra Via.* Moreover, and this is decisive, the Einsiedeln Guide, when alluding to the church of *S. Maria antiqua*, which it mentions by this very name, does not place it at the spot of the *Sacra Via* later on occupied by *S. Maria nova*, but at the place where we last paused, that is, on the northern declivity of the Palatine, expressly indicating the right-hand side of the road leading from the Arch of Severus to that of Titus. *S. Maria nova*, or Santa Francesca Romana, lies, on the contrary, to the left, and the church of St. Mary mentioned by the Guide can be no other than the present church of Santa Maria Liberatrice.[1]

[1] See DE ROSSI'S catalogue in his *Roma sott.*, 1, 143. The *Itinerarium Einsiedlense* (in LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 492) gives the following on the route:—

in s[inistra].	*in d*[extera].
Sancti Hadriani.	*Sancti Georgii.*
Sancti Cosmae et Damiani.	*Sancta Maria antiqua.*
Palatius Neronis.	*Ad sanctum Theodorum.*
Aeclesia sancti Petri.	*Palatinus.*

Without adducing any proof, JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 333, 374, and DE ROSSI, in *Notizie*

There are other proofs to confirm this assumption.[1] Here, however, we shall quote only mediæval traditions, which throw much light on the title of *antiqua*. They tell us that Pope Silvester had already dedicated a small church in this neighbourhood to our Lady, and that near it there was a depression, or hole. As a matter of fact, the pool belonging to the *Iuturna* fountain, made famous by the Dioscuri, was near this spot. Nor was it far from where Roman fable localised the exploit of Curtius, whose voluntary leap into the chasm saved the city of Rome.[2]

Christian legend, moreover, tells us further, embellishing the Silvester tradition in its usual way, that 365 steps below the surface was the abode of a dragon, who battened on food brought him by virgins, but that Silvester, after holding the Liturgy on this spot, had, through his prayers, bound the dragon, and confined it behind brazen portals. Thus spoke the famous Silvester saga even in the sixth century, and we can well imagine what terror the place must have possessed for simple-minded Christians who had heard the story. At any rate, in later mediæval times, a small church, standing in the low-lying ground, obtained as its distinctive appellation the name *de lacu* or *de inferno*. *Infernum*, meaning also "hell," was bound up in popular fancy with the dragon story. Even to the later full name of the sanctuary there has clung a reminiscence of *infernum*, in the sense of hell: *Sancta Maria, libera nos de poenis inferni* ("Deliver us from the pains of

degli scavi, 1882, p. 494, as well as in the *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 70, adhere to the older view. Cp. ARMELLINI, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 150. DUCHESNE (*Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, 1897, p. 13 ff.) made an attempt to justify this view. The double fact, that in so doing he was forced to accuse the *Einsiedlensis* of error, and to describe as corrupt the passage bearing on the point in his own edition of the *Liber pont.* (2, 145, *Benedict. III.*, No. 569, see below), is scarcely fitted to convert us to his opinion. Father Lugano, an Olivetan, is the sturdiest upholder of this opinion. To some extent may be accountable for this the fact that the church of Sta. Francesca Romana (*S. Maria nova*) belongs to his Order. Gregorovius, 3^4, 104, who considers the simple change of *Maria antiqua* into *Maria nova* as "indubitable," wrongly takes up arms against PLATNER (*Beschreibung Roms*, 3, 1, 368). Platner was already on the right track, and so was NIBBY (*Roma moderna*, 1, 764). LANCIANI (*L' itinerario*, p. 491) is, on the whole, right. From Lanciani's statements in the *Notizie degli scavi*, 1882, p. 236 (cp. Pl. 16 of Sallustio Peruzzi's sketches), as well as from his map in the same *Notizie*, 1883, Pl. 12, and his *Forma urbis*, we can discern the early site of the church *S. Maria antiqua*, and how it stood in respect to the adjacent ancient buildings, so far as this is possible without further excavation. Cp. LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 498.

[1] Cp. *Liber pont.*, 1, p. 385, No. 167, on the buildings by John VII. (705–707); also LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 499.

[2] For the *Lacus Iuturnae*, see JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 500, but more especially LANCIANI, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 13 ff. In the *Mirabilia* (ed. PARTHEY, p. 21; ed. JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 636) the memory of the chasm and of the exploit of Curtius are kept alive. On the *Lacus Curtius*, see HÜLSEN, *Das Forum*, No. XXIII.

hell"); the shorter name now in use, Santa Maria Liberatrice, is only a contraction of the longer one.[1]

It requires no great critical boldness to determine the true inner meaning of the tradition regarding Silvester's victory over the dragon. Pope Silvester overcame the dragon of Paganism at this spot, by making an end of heathen worship in the temple there. Quite close by, there stood the Temple of Vesta. The little church, or Oratory of Our Lady, which we find here later, but which is called significantly enough *antiqua*, seems, therefore, to have been established by Pope Silvester, probably in opposition to the worship of Vesta.[2]

Vesta was superstitiously venerated as Mother of the Empire and Protectress of the City. It was entirely in keeping with the frequently observed practice of the Roman Church to oppose the worship of the Holy Mother of God and Protectress of the Faithful to the service of Vesta. Her bishops were wont to replace foolish heathen rites by such Christian usages as offered some outward likeness to the heathen form, but were justifiable and salutary from a Christian point of view. If our suggestion is the right one, it must have been a matter of edification to converted Romans to be able to worship Mary—the best and holiest among women, to whom it had been given to bring into the world its Saviour—at a spot in the Forum so near to the Temple of Vesta. Here was the site of Rome's earliest traditions, and the

[1] *Vita S. Silvestri*, in the earlier Latin form (whence the Greek and oriental texts were derived), in MOMBRITIUS, *Sanctuarium sive Vitae sanctorum* (no date, but printed about 1475), t. 2, fol. 279. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, p. cx. See, too, the *Vita S. Silvestri* by METAPHRASTES, in SURIUS, under December 31. Jordan (*Topographie*, 2, 496) wrongly identifies the cavern here alluded to as the dragon's hole, near the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock, with the Mithra cave of the Capitol. Cp. the addenda to the *Mirabilia*, ed. PARTHEY, p. 58; JORDAN, 2, 494. On the legend, see BARONIUS, *an.* 324, No. 97 ff. (who says the circumstances of the dragon story are *superapposita et conficta*); also PANCIROLI, *Tesori nascosti di Roma*, p. 703. *S. Maria de inferno* is the name given to the church in the Turin list of the Roman churches in 1375, in URLICHS, *Codex topogr.*, p. 173, and ARMELLINI, *Chiese*[2], p. 53. The name of *S. Silvester in lacu* first appeared, according to Jordan (2, 500), in FULVIUS (*Antiquitates urbis*, 1527). On the ancient and modern names, see ZACCAGNI, Catalogue in MAI, *Spicilegium roman.*, 9, 424, 458 ff., and ARMELLINI, *Chiese*, p. 527 ff.

[2] Cp. DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1884–1885, p. 143; LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 498. Perhaps the legendary account of Silvester's celebration of the Liturgy was in allusion to the church he had erected. For the worship of the goddess, to whom the *quinquennes epulae* prepared by the Vestal Virgins were offered, cp. *S. Paulini opp.*, ed. MURATORI (Veronæ, 1736), p. 708; *P. L.*, LXI., 705; and BURSIAN, in the *Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie, phil. histor. Klasse*, 1880, p. 19. Vesta was often represented with a serpent. Fabretti's picture of her statue (*De Columna Traiana syntagma*, Romæ, 1690, p. 339) shows her sitting upon a throne, her head veiled as a matron, but wearing a diadem, holding the sceptre in her left hand, and with the right offering a bowl to a serpent, partly visible beneath her throne.

seat of the Pagan pledges of the city's prosperity. Here, first of all, the dragon of idolatry must be dealt with and destroyed. The worship of Vesta proved itself the most stubborn survival of heathenism. It was so interwoven with all official notions of the State, that when, under the Empire, the seat of government was transferred by Augustus to his palace on the Palatine, a special private shrine of Vesta had to be erected there, that the goddess might be at hand to protect the Sceptre.[1]

These facts give a peculiar significance to the church of *S. Maria antiqua.* It occupied a memorable spot in Rome; one might almost say the most important spot in the Empire. It is, at the same time, the oldest church known to have been dedicated to our Lady in the city or even in the world. The glorious Basilica of St. Mary on the Esquiline was not built till later; when the latter, owing to its size and importance, began to assume the title of "*maior*," the church on the Forum asserted its own dignity in honourable rivalry by taking the name of "*antiqua.*"[2]

In the end, this church became a deaconry, a charitable institution being associated with it. It is noteworthy that it stands at the head of the earliest list of deaconries, dating from the time of Pope Leo III. It must also have been very early enlarged, for certain outbuildings of the adjoining *aedes divi Augusti* seem to have been annexed to it as vestibules. In the year 1702, and again in 1885, buildings evidently belonging to a church, and decorated with frescoes dating from the eighth century, were opened up below it, but unfortunately they are no longer accessible.[3]

[1] Upon a coin of Julia Domna the sacrifice by the six Vestals in front of their temple is represented with the inscription, VESTA MATER. See COHEN, *Description des médailles impériales*², 4, 125, n. 239. Cp. 237, 238; LANCIANI, *Notizie degli scavi*, 1883, p. 477 and Pl. 19*d*. In the inscription quoted above (p. 18) on the *Vestalis maxima Flavia Publicia*, the goddess Vesta again bears the title of VESTA MATER. The fire in her temple was regarded as the surest pledge of Rome's universal supremacy, and the hearth of the goddess was a sufficient guarantee for oaths and contracts, besides affording protection to all who sought for help in danger. On her temple near the *domus Augustana* on the Palatine, see LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 498, and *Notizie*, l.c., p. 445.

[2] As the Esquiline Basilica dates from Pope Liberius (352–366), if *S. Maria antiqua* is earlier, we come very near the pontificate of Silvester, who died only seventeen years before the beginning of the pontificate of Liberius.

[3] List of the deaconries, according to the *Liber pont., Leo III.*, in DUCHESNE, 2, 42, note 74. Description of the discoveries in 1702 by FRANCESCO VALESIO in CANCELLIERI, *Storia dei possessi dei Sommi Pont.* (1802, p. 370); cp. LEONE NARDONI, in DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1868, p. 16, and in *Studi e documenti*, 1881, p. 170. In these frescoes Pope Paul I. (757–767) is represented with a square nimbus, showing that he was still living. Lanciani alludes to the excavations of 1885 in *L' itinerario*, p. 498.

Under Leo IV. (847–855) this deaconry was transferred, with other privileges, to the other church of St. Mary, erected by this Pope on the *Sacra Via* beside the Oratory of St. Peter. According to the wording of the *Liber pontificalis* it would seem as if the intention had been to transfer even the name of "*Maria antiqua*" to the new deaconry. The deaconry, however, soon acquired the name of *Maria nova* as a natural consequence of the transfer.[1]

In course of time the shrine established by Silvester, gradually declining in importance, dropped its title of *Maria antiqua*, and, owing to the prevalence of the legend of the *Infernum*, began to style itself *S. Maria de inferno*. Seeing how interesting its history is, one would wish that its modern name of *S. Maria Liberatrix* could be supplemented by "*antiqua*." The title would then make it clear that it is the old, even the first, deliverer of the Forum from the worship of Vesta and from idolatry generally.[2]

169. The origin of a church on the heights of the Capitol, dedicated to our Lady at an early date, is also rather obscure. In old mediæval days it was called *S. Maria in Capitolio*. Since the twelfth century this has been replaced by the building of *S. Maria in Ara Coeli*, which towers high above the Forum.

The name of **Ara Coeli**, as well as an altar in the church, still reminds us of the profoundly touching legend of the prediction made here to Augustus of a Divine Child, who should be born of a Virgin and rule the whole world.[3]

What is perhaps less generally known is that a similar tale was already in existence in the sixth century, and that a church under the invocation of our Lady can be proved to have stood here in the eighth century. The text of the oldest chronicle

[1] The transfer of the name and the deaconry is set forth clearly enough in the following passages of the *Liber pont.*, 2, 145, *Benedict. III.* (855–858), No. 568: "(*hic*) *fecit in basilica beatae Deigenitricis, qui vocatur antiqua, quam a fundamentis Leo papa* (*IV.*) *viam iuxta sacram* (*i.e.* where *S. Maria nova* stands) *construxerat, vela*," &c. Ibid., No. 569: "*in basilica beatae Deigenitricis, quae olim antiqua vocabatur, nunc autem* (after the transfer) *sita est iuxta via sacra, fecit*," &c. Ibid., 2, 158, *Nicol. I.* (858–867), n. 592, of the same church: "*ecclesiam Deigenitricis semperque virginis Mariae, quæ primitus antiqua* (that is, at the transfer), *nunc autem nova vocatur* (since the first name was not usually employed), *quam domnus Leo IIII. papa a fundamentis construxerat . . . fecit*," &c. For *S. Maria antiqua*, cp. also my explanations in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 1896, 2, 458 ff.

[2] Subsequently to the printing of our work (*i.e.* in 1902 ff.) excavators brought to light the grand remains of *S. Maria antiqua*, and, incidentally, entirely confirmed the opinion advocated above in the text. We shall deal with these finds in a future volume, when giving the history of John VII.

[3] The legend is in the *Mirabilia*, 33 ff.: *De visione Octaviani imperatoris et responsione Sibille.*

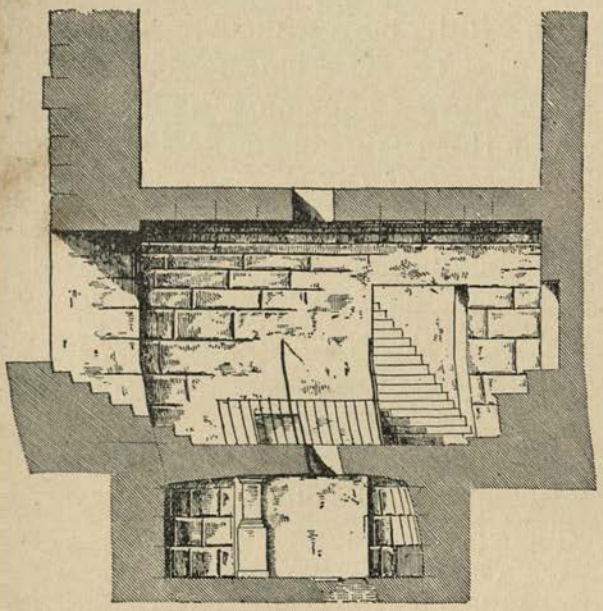
containing the account, and one which has only lately attracted attention, runs as follows: "Cæsar Augustus, in the fifty-sixth year of his reign, in the month of October—called by the Athenians (more accurately by the Macedonians) Hyperberetæus—went up to the Capitol. This stands in the centre of the city. It was his intention to ascertain by divination who would wield the sceptre of the Roman Empire after his death. And the Pythoness gave answer: 'By God's command a Hebrew child will descend from the Heaven of the Blest, and forthwith take up his abode in this building. He will be born without blemish, and is a foe of our altars.' Upon this Cæsar Augustus quitted the shrine of the oracle, and erected a great altar on a high place in the Capitol; he wrote thereon in the Latin tongue: 'This is the altar of the Son of God—*Haec ara filii Dei est.*' And unto this day, after so many years, the building and the basilica of St. Mary ever a Virgin are still standing there, as stated by the chronographer Timotheus." Thus ends the account of an anonymous chronicle, based on that of Malalas, which ends in 574, or the ninth year of the reign of Justin, Emperor of Eastern Rome. The authority invoked, the Byzantine historian Timotheus, wrote a little earlier, but we are unable to fix the exact time.[1] The latter portion of the passage which we have quoted is, however, an addition made in the eighth century subsequently to 740.

Thus the foundation of the Capitoline church of St. Mary must be relegated to a date which cannot be far removed from that of the erection of *S. Maria antiqua*, near the Temple of Vesta. Where the church now stands, on a spur of the hill, a Temple of Juno stood in heathen times, adjoining the old Roman fortress, or *Arx Capitolina*. It is, therefore, not unfair to assume that here again a Christian sanctuary was pitted against a heathen one, and that Juno was vanquished by Mary. The legend of the erection of a Christian **Ara Coeli** by Augustus seems to be based on some real inscription, the purport of which was misunderstood—for instance, a dedication of an altar to Juno as **dea virgo coelestis**. In 1896, an epitaph of a priestess was found at this very place in which the goddess was given this title. That certain Greek monks dwelt here during the

[1] For the text, see *Mon. Germ. Hist. Chron. min.*, ed. MOMMSEN, III., p. 428; DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1894, p. 85 ff. (*Le origini della chiesa dell' Aracoeli*). On Timotheus, the authority of Malalas, see KRUMBACHER, *Gesch. der byzantinischen Literatur*[2], p. 321, 327.

eighth century is evinced by a recently discovered fragment of inscription found on the Capitol, with the word "Hegumenos." At a later date, but still in early mediæval times, these were followed by Benedictines, and their church was first called *Sancta Maria in Capitolio*, and then *in Ara Coeli*.[1]

170. Before quitting the neighbourhood of the Forum, we must pause an instant before the **Mamertine Prison,** not far from the *Ara Coeli*, and quite near the Arch of Severus. What can history tell us with certainty regarding this now famous Oratory of St. Peter?



Ill. 59.—The Mamertine Prison.

Section.[2]

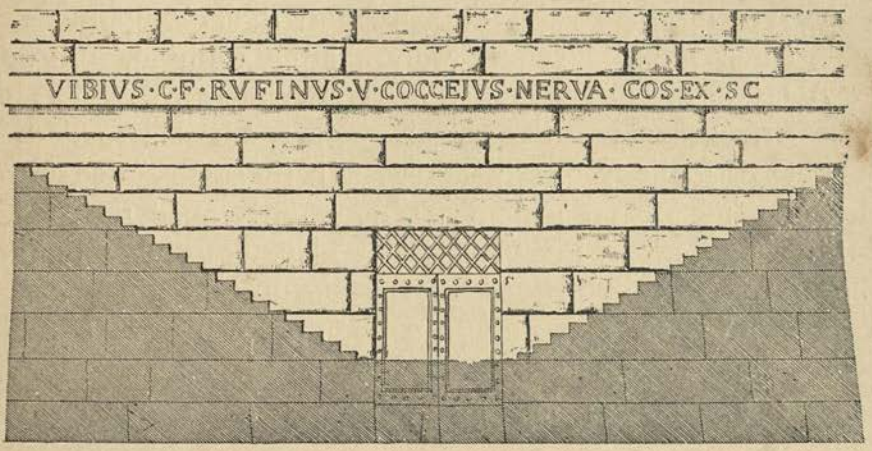
The prison, as such, is one of the Roman monuments which go back to prehistoric times. At first it was not a prison, but a pump-room, called Tullianum. So far all archæologists now agree. Since earliest days a spring rose at the foot of the Capitol, which still exists inside the building. By means of conduits, which still exist, it was early connected with the *Cloaca maxima*. Just as in ancient Rome the Temple of Vesta served to remind the inhabitants of the early method of publicly keeping up fire for the use of the first colonists of the city, so the Tullianum, too, served as a memorial of antiquity, when it had been the sole source of supply. Thus fire and water, the two indispensable elements, had their

[1] De Rossi, l.c. Casimiro, *Memorie stor. della chiesa S. Maria in Araceli* (Roma, 1736), p. 1 ff. For the inscription and legend, see Gatti, *Dissert. della pontif. accad. rom. di archeol.*, ser. 2, t. 6 (Roma, 1896), p. 331, 340. The text "*Haec ara filii Dei est*" must repose on some other inscription. I suggested elsewhere that *filii Dei* is a misunderstanding of *Deus fidius* (*semo sancus*). Hülsen (*Bilder aus der Gesch. des Kapitols*, 1899, p. 30) thinks an inscription from the neighbouring *Templum Fidei*, for instance: *Fidei Aug. Sacr.*, might have been construed as *Filio Dei Augustus sacravit.*

[2] Canina, *Edifici di Roma antica*, ii. tav. 133. Cp. Middleton, *Remains*, i. p. 152; Reber, *Die Ruinen Roms*, p. 109. In the upper square is now the Oratory of the Crucified, and above that the little church of S. Giuseppe dei Falegnami.

monuments on the Forum. The pump-room of the Tullianum is partly hewn out of the tufa, and was at first vaulted over with huge dovetailed blocks of stone. The shape and design exactly correspond with the similar ancient pump-house still extant among the ruins of Tusculum (Ill. 59, lower chamber).[1]

At some date long before the Imperial period this little cell was made into a very strong State prison, buildings being added above and beside it. It was then that the pump-room was provided with its flat roof with a single man-hole at the



Ill. 60.—THE MAMERTINE PRISON.

Formerly visible front. (CANINA, *Edifici*, ii. 133.)

top. Through this hole prisoners were let down, and then left to die of hunger. Here, for instance, Jugurtha and the members of the Catiline conspiracy ended their days. On the outside of the prison (Ill. 60) we can still read an ancient inscription in large letters referring to its restoration, and giving the names of the Consuls, Vibius Rufinus and Cocceius Nerva.

[1] On the pump-house, see LANCIANI, *Acque e acquedotti*, p. 23 ff.; *Ancient Rome* (1889), p. 75. JORDAN, *Topographie*, 1, 453 ff.; 2, 480. RICHTER, *Topographie*, p. 64, 67; *Bullettino dell' instituto*, 1839, p. 30. *Tulli* or *tullii* was the oldest Latin name for springs (*Tulli aquarum proiectus:* SUETON., *Fragm.*, No. 157, ed. REIFFERSCHEID, p. 244); thence the name of *tullianum*. See the attempts of Parker and Gori to reconstitute the ancient building: *Il carcere mamertino ed il robore tulliano, Dissertaz. letta nella pontificia accad. della Concezione*, 15 *Luglio*, 1868; BUONARROTI, 1868, p. 153 ff.; PARKER, *Archæology of Rome, Obelisks*, Sup. to vol. 1, sup. Pl. XVIII., XIX. Cp. Parker's Photographs, No. 721, 1790, 1132, the last with the earliest system of conduits. MIDDLETON, *Remains of Rome*, 1 (1892), 152, and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 10 (1886), 814, art. *Rome, Topography*, &c. PETERSEN, *Vom alten Rom* (1898), p. 13.

Originally this, like the whole frontage of the building, was visible from the road, and not concealed as it is at present.[1]

In the dark vault below, St. Peter and St. Paul are said to have languished for months, prior to their martyrdom. Here, we are told, they converted two jailers, Processus and Martinianus, as well as forty-seven fellow-prisoners. There may perhaps be some truth underlying this late legend which associates the memory of the Apostles with this spot; unfortunately, the account comes to us from an unreliable source. It is first found in the apocryphal *Passio Sancti Petri*, ascribed to the Roman Bishop Linus, and then in the so-called "Acts" of the martyrs Processus, Martinianus, and their companions. In Pseudo-Linus it is, moreover, only a later addition, and as for the "Acts" of the above-named martyrs, which gives the legend in its perfect form, critics are agreed that it is loaded with inaccurate or unlikely interpolations. In these so-called "Acts," as in so many others, legend has quite enveloped the real, but little known, fact. The "Acts" are also, unfortunately, at no pains to inform us how the seven-and-forty proselytes could find room with the Apostles in a chamber which is barely ten feet wide by twenty feet in length. These legends are the first to tell us that the ancient spring was miraculously brought forth from the rock by Peter to supply water for the baptism of his converts. This account, with its details of the martyrs and Apostles, cannot go back beyond the sixth century, nor is it likely that it started in Rome. Although the existence and early veneration of the martyrs Processus and Martinianus are indisputable facts, the historian had better put no trust in the account of their connection with St. Peter, nor in that of St. Peter with the Mamertine.[2]

[1] NIBBY, *Roma antica*, i., 525 ff. PLATNER, *Beschreibung Roms*, 3, 1, 259 ff. CANCELLIERI, *Notizie del carcere tulliano*, Roma, ed. 1788 and 1855, from the latter of which I quote. These three authors, as well as Fea, Adami, and Brocchi, whom it is usual to cite, have naturally been superseded by the recent research alluded to in the previous note. The inscription is in the *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1539.

[2] *Martyrium beati Petri apostoli a Lino episcopo conscriptum*, c. 5, ed. LIPSIUS (*Acta Petri*, &c., 1891), p. 6: "*in hac vicina Mamertini custodia*," &c. On the interpolation of this fifth chapter, see LIPSIUS, ibid., p. XVI., and in *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1 (1887), 110. The Acts of SS. Processus and Martinianus are in *Acta SS.*, I., Iulii 2, p. 270. For their age, see CANCELLIERI, p. 69 ff. The Congregation appointed by Benedict XIV. to revise the breviary says curtly: "*Acta non esse authentica probat Tillemontius*" (BATTIFOL, *Histoire du bréviaire rom.*[2], p. 399). Cp. MARUCCHI, *Le memorie dei SS. apostoli Pietro e Paolo a Roma*, p. 113. ARMELLINI, *Chiese di Roma*[2], p. 539. On the worship of the martyrs Processus and Martinianus, cp. *Liber Praedestinatus haer.*, c. 86 (*P. L.*, LIII., 616). The tombs of the two martyrs, much visited by pilgrims,

As late as 368 the place must still have been serving as a public prison; for, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, Doryphorianus was confined there; it is also noteworthy that in this statement the prison still bears its ancient name of *carcer Tullianus*. Had it then been considered the prison of St. Peter, surely the Christian Emperors would have transformed it into an oratory. Even in the fifth century this prison is alluded to as a simple jail, still retaining its old name of *custodia Tulliana*. This is in the "Acts" of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria, written about this time, in which mention is also made of the ancient conduits with which the prison was connected. Later, however, the martyrologies of St. Calepodius, St. Xystus, and St. Stephen, like Pseudo-Linus, make use of the name *custodia Mamertini*, or *privata Mamertini*. It is not known whence the name arose.[1]

But in all these "Acts" there is not the slightest allusion to the Petrine tradition; it appears only in the above-mentioned Pseudo-Linus, and in the "Acts" of Processus and Martinianus.

All the same, some have been prompted to perceive the long-sought Oratory of St. Peter of the Mamertine prison in the comparatively late passage of the *Liber pontificalis* on Gregory III. (731–741), which speaks of a church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus *ad beatum Petrum*. As a matter of fact, the allusion here is not to the church of the two martyrs near the prison, but to a church in the vicinity of the Vatican, where SS. Sergius and Bacchus had a shrine close to St. Peter's, shown by Alfarano on his plan of that basilica. A passage in the Einsiedeln Guide, which was thought to refer to the Mamertine, does not really do so, though the words might easily prove misleading. It mentions as existing in the

stood on the *Via Aurelia*, about a mile and a half from Rome, and were distinguished by a basilica. See DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1881, p. 104; *Liber pont.*, I, 419, *Gregor. III.*, No. 199. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, lib. 28, c. 1: "*Doryphorianum pronuntiatum capitis reum trusumque carcere tulliano.*" SS. Chrysanthus and Daria in *Acta SS.*, X., Octobris 25, p. 483: ἐν τῇ τοῦ Τουλιανοῦ φυλακῇ . . . τὰ καμάλια ἐκεῖθεν διήρχοντο. On these Acts, see ALLARD, *Persécutions*, 3, 46 *s.*

[1] It is not quite easy to decide whether the *Via Mamurtini* (al. *Mamertini*, *Mamurtina*, *Mamertina*), mentioned in the *Liber pont.*, I, 218, *Anastasius*, No. 56, is at this spot, and coincides with the *Clivus argentarius*, or whether it should be sought for in quite a different part of the city. See DUCHESNE on this passage. St. Calepodius in *Acta SS.*, II., Maii 10, p. 499. St. Xystus, ibid., II., Augusti 6, p. 140. St. Stephen, ibid., I., Augusti 2, p. 142. In the Acts of St. Stephen (Ibid., I., Augusti, p. 140) we find simply *privata custodia*. *Privata* is early mediæval Latin for prison. In the *Mirabilia* the Mamertine prison is again twice called *privata Mamertini* (p. 13 and 20), but not a word is said of Peter or of any oratory of his.

eighth century "a spring of St. Peter, where his prison stands." But, as both Bianchini and Cancellieri recognised, this topographical remark of the Guide does not refer to our corner of the Roman Forum, but to a different quarter of Rome, on the farther side of the Tiber. In short, even during the period which followed the publication of the "Acts" of Processus and Martinianus, throughout the Middle Ages there was dead silence regarding this celebrated place, which its reminiscences of St. Peter should have rendered so dear to the Romans, and so attractive to the pilgrims. According to Cancellieri, Maphæus Vegius (1406–1457) is the first known writer to refer to an Oratory of St. Peter, or, in fact, to any place of worship as existing in this prison. We must, however, add that in the fourteenth century the old Roman statute already mentions a *carcer sanctorum Petri et Pauli* at this place.[1]

We may ask ourselves whether this prolonged silence can be accidental, and long earnestly for clearer light regarding the history of so memorable a spot. No visitor can fail to experience some emotion as he gazes on the dark walls of this narrow chamber of horrors. He seems to hear in the stillness the mournful echoes of a bitter past. Though it is not possible to penetrate the mystery surrounding the origins of the Christian veneration for this dungeon, we have at least the consolation of knowing that many other Christian shrines share this disability, and that for those who come with open minds obscurity is no hindrance to devotion.

The four earliest Christian centres on the *Forum Romanum* are all almost equally shrouded in legendary uncertainty: the

[1] *Liber pont.*, 1, 420, *Gregor. III.*, No. 201, on the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus; cp. DUCHESNE, *Note*, p. 424. Plan of Alfarano, ibid., p. 192, litt. i.; merely a conjectural indication. The *Einsiedlensis* places the *fons sancti Petri ubi est carcer* on the road from the *Porta Aurelia* to the Æmilian Bridge (LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 441, 480). CANCELLIERI, 80, 134; also Franc. BIANCHINI, *Anastasii biblioth., De vitis pontiff.* MAPHÆUS VEGIUS, *De basilica vaticana*, in *Acta SS.*, VII., Iunii, p. 62 (lib. 1, c. 6, No. 44): "*e regione aediculae beati Petri in carceribus, sub arce capitolii.*" CANCELLIERI, p. 135. *Statuto di Roma del secolo XIV.*, liber 2, No. 86, § 3, ed. CAMILLO RE (*Biblioteca dell' accademia storico-giuridica*, vol. 1, 1880), p. 120. MARUCCHI and ARMELLINI are naturally silent about the miracle of St. Peter and the well, so much emphasised in Cancellieri (p. 68 ff.), nor have they more to say when Cancellieri (p. 66 ff.) brings forward the relatively modern tradition regarding the impress of St. Peter's features in the chamber above the actual dungeon. LIPSIUS (*Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1, 416) says rightly about the well: "It is easy to explain why the water does not overflow, for it has a subterranean outlet." He adds, however, with some spite and much injustice, "the faithful, even to-day, look on this as a miracle." I have already expressed my views on the Petrine traditions of the prison in an article in the Innsbruck *Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie*, 20 (1896), 102 ff.

small church of St. Peter in front of the Temple of Roma, the *Ara Coeli*, *S. Maria antiqua*, and the Mamertine prison. Legend, which has on all sides thrown its luxuriant veil over truth, is, after all, the poetry of a faded past, and amidst the ruins of the Roman Forum it found wider scope than elsewhere in the city.

171. Casting back a farewell glance on the Roman Forum, our eye will be caught by the equestrian statue of **Constantine** the Great. This monument of the first Christian Emperor—noticed by very few writers, and to which we have not yet referred—stood on a high pedestal almost in the centre of the square of the Forum. The Einsiedeln Guide mentions it expressly as *Cavallus Constantini*, and has also preserved the dedicatory inscription to Constantine engraved below.[1]

Doubtless the figure of the Ruler held the Christian *Labarum* in its hand—that standard under which, after the overthrow of Maxentius, his legions entered Rome to establish the new order of things, and to inaugurate the Church's freedom. How perfectly in keeping was this symbol of victory—as Constantine himself calls it, with the surrounding temples and Imperial buildings now deserted and already touched with incipient decay, and with the rising tokens of Christian worship!

The *Labarum* held by the Emperor may be seen on many other monuments. On the shaft supporting a short square banner shines the monogram of Christ, surrounded by the symbolic wreath, figuring the victory over the enemies of God and of the Church. The surrounding Forum, with the crumbling ruins of its idolatrous Pagan pomp, makes response to the Emperor: "In this sign thou conquerest."[2]

From the Forum to the Mausoleum of Hadrian

172. The Roman Forum communicated with the northern parts of the city chiefly through the **Clivus argentarius** of the Capitol. This is the present Salita di Marforio. During the

[1] LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 452. *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1141. The inscription, which dates from 334, is in the *Einsiedl.*, No. 33. Also in DE ROSSI, *Inscrip. Christianae urbis Romae*, 2, 1, p. 1, with a commentary. In 1873 the remains of the still existing pedestal were discovered.

[2] For the *Labarum*, see STEVENSON in KRAUS, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, 1, 259.

Middle Ages the steep road was named *Ascesa Prothi.* This street, of which the ancient pavement is only a little lower than the modern, was, until the Via Bonella was built by Sixtus V., the only egress at the north angle of the Forum. It derived its name of *Clivus argentarius* from the *Basilica argentaria,* which once stood here.

In ascending, the *Mons capitolinus* would have been on the left, the road passing round it under the Christian sanctuary of the *Ara Coeli,* and the ancient citadel (*Arx capitolina*), carrying the Temple of *Juno coelestis.* The Imperial Forums lay stretched before one's eyes on the right: the *Forum Iulium* of Cæsar, surrounding the Curia of the Senate, with the Temple of *Venus Genitrix, i.e.* of the ancestress of the *Gens Iulia;* then the Augustan Forum, terminated in the background by the Temple of *Mars ultor* (beside the Arco dei Pantani); and, finally, the Forum of Trajan, surpassing all the others in beauty.

173. At the end of the *Clivus argentarius,* one reached the extensive plain to the north of the Capitol, near the Triumphal Arch of Domitian. The latter was the arch called, during the Middle Ages, *Arcus manus carneae.* It stood at the then commencement of the *Via Flaminia,* that long straight road (Corso), which quits the city at the *Porta Flaminia* (now Porta del Popolo). Domitian's arch was the first among the various arches which adorned this street inside the city.

We shall not take the *Via Flaminia,* with its northerly direction, but, to reach St. Peter's, we turn to the left—in other words, to the west. The way leads through the ninth city region to the Circus of Flaminius, then to Pompey's Theatre, and behind the neighbouring buildings of Pope Damasus to the porticoes leading to the *Pons Ælius,* now the Ponte Sant' Angelo.

We reach the Circus of Flaminius by the *Vicus Pallacinae.* This is an ancient street in which stood the *Balnea Pallacinae,* mentioned by Cicero, the place where Sextus Roscius Amerinus was murdered. At present the street is called Via di S. Marco, and in its continuation, Via delle Botteghe oscure. The titular church of St. Mark was erected in the *Vicus Pallacinae.* As early as Constantine's reign, this church stood either in or close to the above-named baths. It was thought that remains of the first Constantinian edifice could be recognised in the crypt, but closer inspection showed that this supposition was unfounded. The

only reminiscence of its early days is an epitaph, probably of a reader belonging to this church, with the words *lector de Pallacinis*.[1]

The name Via delle Botteghe oscure, borne by the remainder of the street, arose from the extensive Circus of Flaminius which lined it on the left. The road passed along its side porticoes, and these arcades, during the Middle Ages, were known as the "dark shops." The vast *Circus Flaminius*, once a place of recreation, more particularly for the lower classes, did not long survive the Western Empire as a theatre for noisy and exciting sports. Who, indeed, was there to fill its endless room at the time of our ramble? In heathen times fine buildings, both religious and secular, had never been wanting in the plain south of the *Campus Martius*. This is clear from the names of the edifices mentioned by the Einsiedeln Guide as lying on the right of the road. He points out three buildings lying rather far back, probably reading them on his plan, where they were given nearer the roadway. First, the *Thermae Commodianae*, by which he means the Thermæ of Agrippa; they must have been restored by the Emperor Commodus, and taken their name from him. Secondly, the *Rotunda*, *i.e.* the Pantheon (Ill. 61) connected with the Thermæ of Agrippa on the north, soon to be taken under the protection of the Church, under whose care it will be preserved as a Christian house of God, and thus escape the fate of the other monuments on this plain—all of them doomed to rapid decay. Thirdly, the Stadium of Domitian (Piazza Navona), which the Guide or a copyist has wrongly called the *Circus Flaminius*.[2]

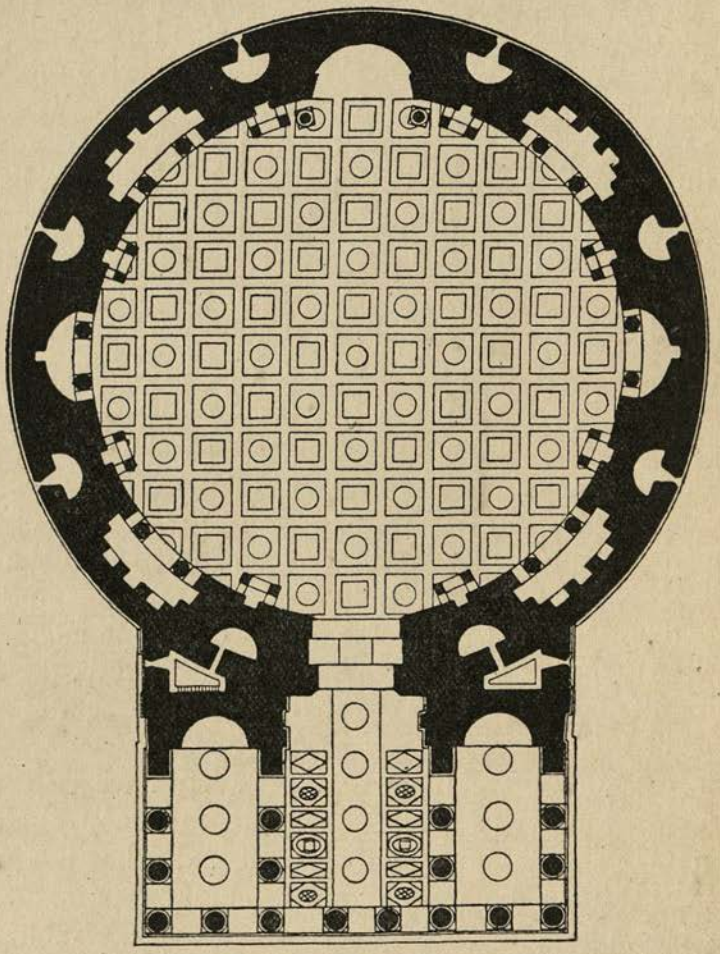
In the meantime we have reached a spot where the Guide points out to the left a place which he calls *Cypressus*. This name is new in the topography of the city, and has not yet been explained. It may be an unknown building, or a district, or merely a tree, distinguished by its age and size, standing in the open space between the porticoes of Pompey. It is not unlikely that these two famous porticoes of Pompey were surrounded by

[1] *Balneae Pallacinae*, CICERO, *Pro Roscio*, 7, No. 18. The *Pallacinae* and the *porticus Pallacinae*, in the *Liber pont.*, ed. MOMMSEN (1898), p. 73; ed. DUCHESNE, 1, 202, 507; 2, 145, 153. Benedictus Canonicus also had the name; cp. LANCIANI, *L' itinerario di Einsiedeln*, p. 117. For the church of San Marco, see BARTOLINI, *La sotterranea confessione di San Marco* (*Dissert. della pontif. accad. rom. di archeol.*, 1844), who wrongly speaks of the present *Confessio* as Constantinian. The epitaph on the lector is in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 1, 62, No. 97.

[2] LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 451.

shady grounds. The name of a hospital, *Xenodochium in Platana*, which Pope Stephen II. founded in this neighbourhood in the eighth century, must have been derived from some large plane-trees standing here.[1]

174. Our Einsiedeln Guide mentions on the left, immediately after the *Cypressus*, the *Theatrum Pompei*. The two porticoes



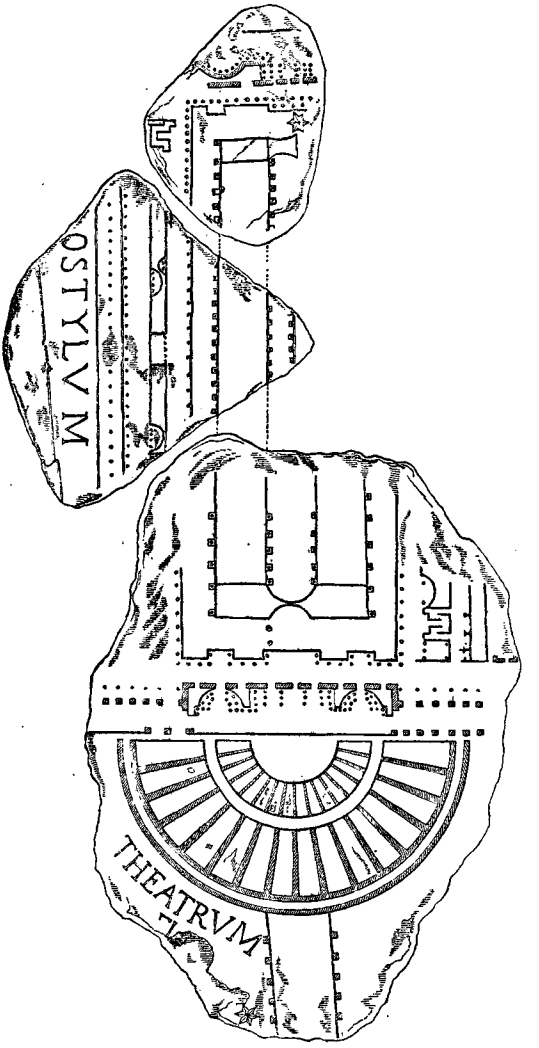
Ill. 61.—The Pantheon.
Ground plan.[2]

we just spoke of belonged to the eastern end of this theatre. The circular ground-plan of the theatre is still apparent in the ruins.

[1] Lanciani, ibid., 450. *Liber pont.*, I, 440, *Stephanus II.* (752–757), No. 228: "*a novo fundasse dinoscitur et xenodochium in Platana.*" Cp. also note 5 in Duchesne.

[2] Lanciani's *Forma urbis Romae* shows the connection with this building of the edifices discovered behind the Pantheon, also the steps leading up to it and the forecourt. (Cp. Ill. 35.)

The two porticoes can also partly be traced from their remains. In the recent building and road-making operations on this site, rows of overthrown granite pillars and pedestals came to light repeatedly, as well as steps leading up to these once stately porticoes. Part of the theatre is shown on the Severian plan of Rome (Ill. 62).[1] The whole structure, as it stood in the fifth century, can be reconstructed with certainty."[2]



Ill. 62.—POMPEY'S THEATRE.
Fragment of the Severian plan of the city.

The Einsiedeln Itinerary has preserved in its collection an interesting inscription, which must have been transcribed on the spot. According to it, the Christian Emperors Arcadius and Honorius made attempts to preserve, by restoration, the already badly dilapidated theatre and its surroundings.[3] Even the Gothic King Theodoric tried to shield Pompey's Theatre against the inroads of time and neglect. His counsellor, Cassiodorus, in the King's name, gave the Patricius Symmachus urgent instructions

[1] JORDAN, *Forma urbis*, tab. iv.; SCHNEIDER, *Das alte Rom*, Pl. 5, No. 3.

[2] For the theatre, see RICHTER, *Topographie*, p. 144; NIBBY, *Roma antica*, 2, 609. For the fragment of the marble plan, see JORDAN, *Forma urbis*, Pl. IV. Cp. LÜBKE, *Geschichte der Architektur* (1884), 1, Fig. 265. For the recent excavations during the works in the Via del Monte di Farina, see D. MARCHETTI in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1892, p. 146. Porticoes of the theatre were again met near S. Andrea della Valle and near the former Hospital Tata Giovanni.

[3] *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1191.

to this effect. The letter written on this occasion highly praises the beauty of the theatre, which, according to the writer, might account sufficiently for Pompey being called "the Great." All the same, as a good Christian, he cannot suppress his regret that the theatre during Rome's last days had become a perfect hot-bed of moral depravity. With all his enthusiasm—seeing how steadily decay was gaining on the building—he exclaims: "What can resist Thee, O Age, Thou who hast shaken the strength of such walls! Sooner should we expect to see mountains broken up than such solid masses of stone."[1]

This was the first stone theatre to be erected at Rome. Until Pompey built it, 55 B.C., a permanent theatre in the city had been considered an impossibility, and a danger to public morals. Pompey, however, erected a temple to *Venus Victrix* at the top of his theatre, and the tiers of the theatre continued to serve at the same time as the steps of the temple. Other small ornamental temples were also added, such as one to *Felicitas*, and another to *Honos Virtus*. The existence of the theatre, in spite of the stock objections indicated by Tacitus, was thus insured by the artificially religious character of its structure.[2]

Eventually Diocletian, more especially, took the care of this marvellous monument to heart. The two colonnades mentioned above belong to his restorations. One he called *Porticus Iovia*, from his own surname Jovius; the other, *Herculea*, in honour of the joint-Emperor Maximian Herculeus. While in Pliny's time the theatre could distribute 40,000 *tesserae*, or tickets for seats, the Constantinian regionary survey gives the number as no longer more than 17,580.[3] During the Middle Ages the small church of St. Barbara was established on the south side of the circus, where it is still standing. Straight across the space formerly enclosed by the porticoes there now runs the Via dei Chiavari, with its filthy houses. The buildings erected by Pope Damasus, which now follow to the left of the old road, have in some sense come down to us, though with many transformations. The transformation has, in this case, been advantageous; to it we owe that ornamental and yet majestic production of the early Renaissance, the

[1] *Variar.*, 4, No. 51: *Symmacho patricio;* ed. MOMMSEN, p. 138.

[2] For the objection to permanent theatres in Rome, cp. NIBBY, *Roma antica*, 2, 580 ("questa innovazione fu riguardata nocevolissima"), &c. RICHTER, *Topographie*, p. 141. TACITUS, *Annal.*, 14, c. 15, 20.

[3] Regionary description in RICHTER, *Topographie*,[1] p. 187.

Palace of the Cancellaria Apostolica, to which has migrated the old church of St. Lawrence *in Damaso*, which used to stand in this neighbourhood. Strange to say, one of the streets here still retains the memory of the mediæval pilgrims' way to St. Peter's: this is the Via del Pellegrino, which was the shortest way between St. Peter's and St. Paul's. It was Pope Damasus who built this church of St. Lawrence on the ancient road. The porticoes already mentioned extended on each side of the church, and were intended for the custody of the Archives belonging to the Roman Church. His inscription has told us that they were erected by Pope Damasus. His name also appears in other inscriptions at this place.[1]

It was this Pope who did most to maintain intact the monumental memorials of ancient Christian Rome. Over the Catacombs he watched with especial care, and by means of epigraphs, particularly in metrical form, he preserved their traditions whilst also enriching their decoration.[2]

175. In the person and in the energy of Damasus, old came into touch with new. In the same way antiquity seemed curiously blended with Christianity on the classic ground occupied by his church of St. Lawrence and the new office of Archives. Close to this spot was the rallying-point of the four Circus factions—the Whites, Greens, Blues, and Reds, and from one of the factions, the Green Club, this church received the name of St. Lawrence *in Prasina*. Not far from the church, in 1886, was found a leaden pipe nearly ten feet below the surface, which, according to its inscription, had formerly carried water to the building of the *factio prasina*. During the last palmy days of the Empire, few buildings were so popular in Rome, and so thronged with pleasure-seekers and idlers, as this combined lodging-house and stables of the Greens.[3]

There was no lack of eloquent monuments to jockeys and race-horses. In the courtyard of the present Cancellaria the

[1] For the Via del Pellegrino, see LANCIANI, *Annali dell' instituto*, 1883, p. 19. *L' itinerario*, p. 450, fixes the old site of the church, which existed till 1486. The portico of the Archives was mentioned above, p. 205, and the Title on p. 192, where the inscriptions are also quoted.

[2] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. xxxiv. ff.

[3] The names of the factions were *factio albata, prasina, veneta, russata.* The Verdun collection of inscriptions (see GRISAR, *Analecta romana*, vol. 1, Diss. III.: *Iscrizioni di Roma*, p. 138) gives an epigraphic text from the above church with the notice: "*S. Laurentii in Damaso, quae alio nomine appellatur in prasino.*" DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 134. For the discovery of the leaden pipe, see *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1886, p. 393.

pedestal of a statue was standing as late as the sixteenth century bearing an inscription in honour of Marcus Aurelius Liber, "jockey and head of the Green faction."

In May 1878, another similar pedestal was found; it had supported the statue of an African jockey named Crescens. The inscription says that this darling of the people, partisan of the Blue party (*veneta*), though but twenty-two years of age, had already won prizes to the amount of 1,558,346 sestercia. A still more vivid character-sketch is given in a boastful inscription to another jockey, Calpurnius, part of whose gravestone was, in 1877, taken out of the towers flanking the Flaminian Gate, where it had been utilised as building material at the time of Sixtus IV. Our Einsiedeln Guide, who must have thought the inscription queer enough, copied it carefully, and remarks that the grave stood on the *Via Flaminia*. Not only are the victories of Calpurnius and his money prizes reckoned up with singular arithmetical precision, but even the names of the horses who had helped the happy man to universal fame are handed down to posterity. The Green faction is, naturally, not forgotten; a multi-coloured mosaic has been preserved, and shows us every detail of their costume, as well as of those of the other factions. We shall meet with the Greens again at the circus, which stands in close proximity to the Basilica of St. Peter.[1]

The ancient roadway of the Via del Pellegrino passes into the equally ancient Via dei Banchi vecchi. After that we come by the Via del Banco di Santo Spirito direct to the Triumphal Arch of the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius. Where the first street meets the second, the original pavement was found, in April 1886, no less than eighteen feet below the present level. It consisted of the usual huge pentagonal basaltic paving-stones, and seemed in good condition; about three feet above it were the remains of a road built in the Middle Ages.[2]

The three streets formed a part of the covered walk, or *Porticus maximae*, which continued without a break from the

[1] The inscription of Liber (*domino et agitatori factionis prasinae*) in the *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 10,058; cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 135. Inscription of Crescentius in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1878, p. 164, Pl. XII.; cp. LANCIANI, *Ancient Rome*, 214 ff. and LOVATELLI, *Antichi monumenti* (Roma, 1889), p. 1–29. Inscription of Calpurnius in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 29, No. 58 ff.; *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 10,047. Cp. Carlo Lud. VISCONTI in the *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1877, p. 201. The mosaic is reproduced in LOVATELLI, *Antichi monumenti*, p. 164, where their dress is also described.

[2] LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 450.

Basilica of St. Paul at the *Porta Ostiensis* to St. Peter's. We already know that the Triumphal Arch of Gratian just alluded to formed the end of the *Porticus maximae* inside the city. It was situated near the present church of San Celso, at about 400 feet from the Tiber and the Aurelian Wall which there skirts the river.[1]

176. Through one of the gateways of the Aurelian City Wall we at last reach the Ælian Bridge (Ponte Sant' Angelo).[2] We now stand facing the towering mass of the Emperor Hadrian's Mausoleum, or *Moles Hadriani*, on the right bank of the Tiber. After the fall of the Empire, this mausoleum was promptly transformed into a fortress. In the fifth century, most probably in the reign of the Emperor Honorius, it became a *tête-de-bont*, or stronghold defending the city against incursions from the open country beyond the river. The alterations then undergone by the beautiful building to adapt it to such a practical purpose were really quite unimportant; later times were to treat the stupendous monument with far less respect in their efforts to make it impregnable. When the Emperor Honorius, in 403, so thoroughly restored the Aurelian Wall, he probably inserted embattlements between the rows of statues on the entablature of the mausoleum. Beyond this he only built two strong walls, opening out obliquely to the river from the monument, each being provided with three towers. Thus the pilgrim on his way to the precincts of the Vatican, on stepping off the bridge on the right bank, found himself forthwith under the shelter of these protecting walls. He quitted this triangular area by a gate in the left, or west, wall. where a portico began, and led to St. Peter's.[3]

But before penetrating into the Vatican quarter, we must view a little more closely the celebrated mausoleum. Its history holds a place of importance in the history of Rome, and even of the Popes. It is at once the largest grave and the greatest fortress of the city.

The Mausoleum of Hadrian, an Imperial monument in the

[1] LANCIANI, ibid., p. 448, 450. Inscription from the arch in *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 1184.

[2] For the gate of the city wall called *Porta Sancti Petri*, see later, p. 266.

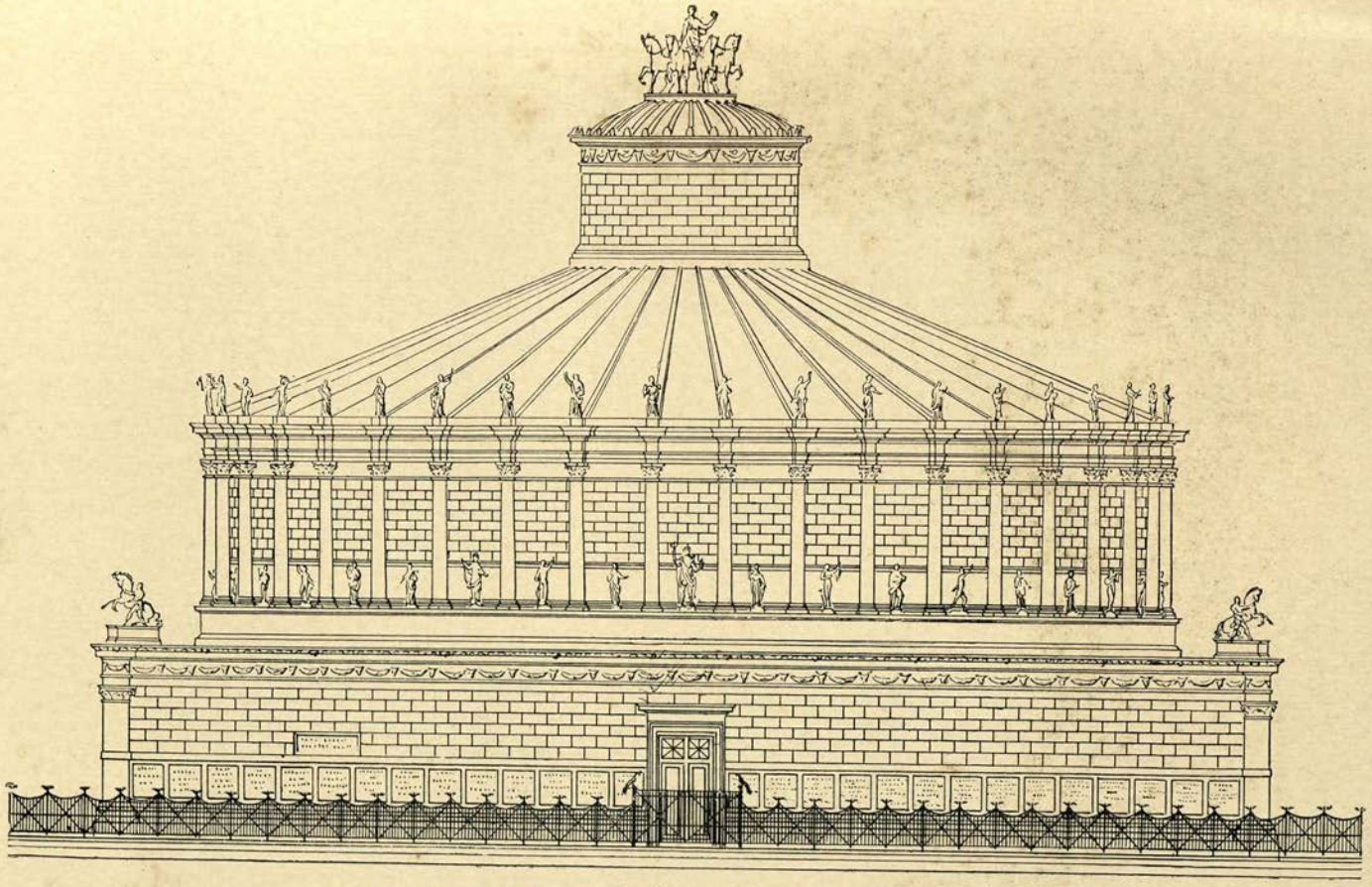
[3] LANCIANI, ibid., p. 447. Cp. BORGATTI, *Castel Sant' Angelo* (Roma, 1890), p. 28 ff. According to PROCOPIUS (*De bello goth.*, 1, c. 22) the mausoleum in his day had already "for a long time" been transformed into the fortified *tête-de-pont*. Above the gate in the southern side of the wall, perhaps as early as the sixth century, was the inscription: "*Ianitor ante fores fixit sacraria Petrus*," &c. (DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 99, n. 7).

strictest sense of the term (Ill. 63), was, like the adjacent bridge, almost entirely constructed during the lifetime of the Emperor whose name it bears. It was built in the gardens of Domitia. The monument consists of two parts; the lower is an extensive square of masonry, at present almost entirely below the surface. Its fringe now supports the modern fortifications of San Gallo. Above this rose, surrounded by columns, the great round tower, or actual mausoleum, which is still preserved to a considerable height. The entrance, with its brass gate, was in the square of the ponderous substructure exactly opposite the bridge. Each wall of this base was nearly 350 feet in length. According to Procopius they were faced with Parian marble. The circular building, 240 feet in height, was ascended interiorly by a spiral staircase which is still preserved. This was surmounted by a pointed cupola, covered with sheet-metal, at the summit being a statue of Hadrian.[1] On the lower part of the exterior walls of the square substructure might be seen the inscriptions to the Emperors and members of the Imperial family, whose remains reposed in the building. Besides Hadrian and Sabina, almost all the Emperors were buried there, down to Septimius Severus and his sons. The inscriptions of Hadrian and Sabina were just above the entrance. A number of these epitaphs were copied by the Einsiedeln Guide.[2]

But a finer decoration than the tablets with these historical inscriptions were the pilasters, reliefs, and mouldings with which the walls were covered. Some of these rich mouldings adorned the lower part as late as the sixteenth century. From early

[1] PROCOPIUS, *De bello goth.*, 1, c. 22 : ἐκ λίθου παρίου. Most previous reconstructions have been unsuccessful, especially the oft-repeated one by CANINA. Cp. RICHTER, *Topographie*,[1] p. 156. BUNSEN, *Beschreibung Roms*, 2, 1, 404–422. BORGATTI, *Castel Sant' Angelo*, p. 11 ff. The oldest, though incomplete, picture of the mausoleum appears to me to be the representation of St. Peter's crucifixion, executed under Nicholas III., and later painted over. It is in the chapel of St. Lawrence of the early Papal Lateran Palace (*Sancta Sanctorum*, above the *Scala santa*). The most accurate views, on the contrary, are the drawings by Giuliano da Sangallo in the *Cod. Barbarin.*, XLIX., 33, fol. 34[v] and 35 (cp. BORGATTI, p. 94), and by Sansovino in the collection of sketches at the Uffizi in Florence, No. 4330. Our Ill. 63 is from a drawing by F. Mazzanti, based on his study of the interior of the monument. Cp. HÜLSEN, *Mitth. des Archäol. Instit.*, 1891, 138 (SCHNEIDER, *Das alte Rom*, Pl. 12, No. 20). The lantern of the dome is still preserved within the present structure. The mouldings of the roof were discovered by the draughtsman in the neighbourhood. The existence of an encircling wall and railings has been established by recent study. On the other hand, the bronze peacocks on the railings and the details of the ornamentation of the building generally are less certain. A section of the mausoleum will be given in a later volume.

[2] *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 984 ff. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 29, n. 61 ff.: "in Adrianio." Cp. HIRSCHFELD, *Die kaiserlichen Grabstätten in Rom* (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1886, p. 1149 ff.



Ill. 63.—Hadrian's Mausoleum (Castel Sant' Angelo). (Reconstruction.)

drawings, as well as through the results of recent excavations, we are now able to realise their beauty. The mouldings, both on the upper and the lower building, represented tasteful garlands, broken by the customary bull's heads, symbolising the sacrifices. Between the pilasters above these, stood rows of choice statues. The portal was surmounted by a marble figure of Hadrian, found here later, and now preserved in the Vatican Museum.[1]

Even the mediæval *Mirabilia* of Rome wax eloquent over the details of this splendid edifice, calling it, however, *Templum Hadriani* instead of Mausoleum of Hadrian. Their statement that the whole monument was enclosed by bronze railings has been confirmed by recent discoveries. This railing, they say, was adorned with bronze peacocks, "of which two were taken to the *cantharus* in the precincts of St. Peter's." These peacocks, thus described as having once migrated to the fountain in the ancient Atrium of the Vatican Basilica, are probably still extant. They might well be those two masterpieces of antique bronze-work now at the Vatican, near the colossal bronze pine-cone in the Cortile Pigna. This cone, taken from a fountain in front of the Iseum, had also been placed on the fountain in the Atrium of St. Peter's.[2]

Petrus Mallius, in the twelfth century, incorporated the description of the *Mirabilia* (highly questionable in some of its details) in his work on the Basilica of St. Peter's, and thus rendered it even more popular.[3]

A Greek author, John of Antioch, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, was responsible for putting into circulation an extraordinary exaggeration regarding Hadrian's Mausoleum, which is, however, matched by many another statement made by Greeks regarding Rome. He says that at the top of the monument was a group of monstrous size: the Emperor Hadrian driving four horses, through the eyes of which even the biggest man could enter.[4]

[1] For the later excavations during the Tiber improvement works and the rebuilding of the bridge of Sant' Angelo, see specially BORSARI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1890, p. 5, and in *Notizie degli scavi*, 1892, p. 412, 426. The reliefs on the ancient bronze gates of St. Peter also show the garlands with bull's heads alternating above and below. This representation of the early mausoleum is, however, not quite true to fact.

[2] *Mirabilia*, ed. PARTHEY, 29. Cp. JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 434. The pigna does not come from the top of Hadrian's Mausoleum nor, as was believed, from the Pantheon. The Iseum was in the modern Rione Pigna.

[3] Cap. 7, No. 131, in *Acta SS.*, VII., Iunii, p. 46*; in URLICHS, *Codex*, &c., 106, No. 21; JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 627. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 221.

[4] JOANNES ANTIOCHENUS in SALMASIUS on SPARTIAN, *Hadrianus*, No. 19. (Probably out of John's work, Περὶ ἀρχαιολογίας; cp. BUNSEN, p. 418.) On the uncertainty of the fragments ascribed to John, see KRUMBACHER, *Byzantinische Literatur*,[2] p. 334 ff.

The Vatican Region

177. A very early homily included in the works of Leo the Great describes in impressive language the contrast existing between Hadrian's Mausoleum and Peter's Tomb. "Whoever goes to the Apostle Peter," says the orator, "must needs pass by the Tomb of the Emperor Hadrian, a building of marvellous size and beauty. Yet it would never cross any one's mind to say: 'Let us enter the Emperor's Mausoleum.' People bestow on it merely a passing glance, and hasten onward to the Tomb of the fisherman. Truly, great fishermen are you who have drawn the whole world into your net, and fulfilled the words of Christ: 'I will make you fishers of men.' . . . From the East even unto the West the martyrdom of Peter and Paul is glorified, for they suffered for the King of Heaven and Earth. At Rome, too, the centre of worldly government, it was meet they should find their resting-place, in order that all the nations who here congregate might pay a tribute of reverence to the fishermen's tomb." These words find their justification in the history of Rome's transformation.[1]

As early as the fifth and sixth centuries the Vatican quarter might be called the property of St. Peter, owing to its rich reminiscences of the Apostle, and the tokens of the pilgrims' devotion. It was consecrated to him by the very names given to ancient historic spots. Even then fresh names, beginning at the bridge, proclaimed to the pilgrim that he was entering the especial realm of the Prince of the Apostles. The gate opening on the city side, in front of the Ælian Bridge, and affording access to the mausoleum, was called *Porta sancti Petri.* The classic bridge itself had become the *Pons sancti Petri.* The other gate on the opposite bank, through which the road passed out of the defences of the mausoleum into the long portico leading up to St. Peter's, bore the name (according to the Einsiedeln Itinerary) of *Porta sancti Petri in Hadrianio.*

There has been a difference of opinion among recent investigators as to which of these gates was known as *Porta sancti Petri.* It now seems, however, fairly clear that both were so called. It

[1] *Appendix ad sermones S. Leonis Magni, sermo* 16, ed. BALLERINI, p. 442; *P.L.*, LIV., 511. The homily was, even by Mallius, ascribed to St. Leo I. (c. VII., No. 130; *Acta SS.*, VII., Iunii, p. 46*). It is of slightly later date, as may be seen from the use of the mediæval designation *templum* for the monument of Hadrian. Cp. BALLERINI'S remarks in the *Praefatio*, c. ii., § 3; *P.L.*, LIV., 131.

is also worth noticing that, in a passage in the cosmography of the so-called Æthicus, dating from about the time of the seventh century, both gates are spoken of under one name, as though they only formed one. "The Tiber," says Æthicus, "enters the city through the gate of *Domnus Petrus Apostolus*."

Further down we find also the Apostle Paul brought into conjunction with Peter, his companion: "The Tiber again forsakes Rome between the Gate of the Ostian Way, which is the Gate of *Domnus Paulus Apostolus*, and the Portuan Way, that is, the road of the blessed martyr Felix."[1]

To the devout minds of that period, as we may see from this extract, the famous tombs of the saints were everything. So highly were they esteemed that they even exercised an influence on the topographical designations. The change of the citizens' mental outlook is evinced by the alteration of classic names, which had held the field for centuries, only to be ousted at last by those of apostles and martyrs.[2]

Towards the end of the fourth century the poet Prudentius, referring to St. Peter and St. Paul, exclaims in a poem: "The river Tiber is hallowed on either bank; it divides the sacred remains of the two Apostles, flowing past both their graves. On the right the country guards Peter under a roof resplendent with gold; verdant olives clothe the heights, whence springs the murmuring brook which fills the font of Baptism . . . Thither, as a good Shepherd, Peter leads the sheep he sees thirsting after the waters of Christ. On the opposite bank the Ostian Way protects the church of Paul at the point where the river bends leftwards round the metropolis of the world; a stronghold established by a good prince with royal magnificence."[3]

[1] Lanciani has pointed out that there was a gate in the Aurelian Wall on the city side, which Ammon, as early as 403, in his description of the city walls, calls *Porta sancti Petri* (*L'itinerario di Einsiedeln*, p. 448). De Rossi had claimed the name for the gate on the opposite side (*Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 38). The latter, however, in the Einsiedeln MS. bore as its full name that of *Porta sancti Petri in Hadrianio*. Procopius also (*De bello goth.*, I., c. 19, 22) speaks of the designation *Porta sancti Petri* being already quite current. Cp. JORDAN, *Topographie*, 1, 375. Æthicus in URLICHS, *Codex topogr.*, 55 (after the edition of Pomponius Mela by Gronovius, 1722). See EBERT, *Geschichte der Literatur des MA.*[2], 1, 609. The *Meta sancti Petri* in the *Mirabilia* (ed. PARTHEY, p. 28; ed. JORDAN, p. 626) is the sepulchral pyramid of "Romulus" (cp. below, p. 271).

[2] The *Porta Aurelia* on the Janiculus in the sixth century already bore the name of the Gate of St. Pancras (Procopius, l.c., c. 18, 28); the *Porta Flaminia* then became the Gate of St. Valentine; the *Porta Nomentana* the Gate of St. Agnes; and so on.

[3] *Peristephanon*, XII., v. 29 ff.; *P.L.*, LX., 561. In the inscription on the *Porta sancti Petri in Hadrianio* in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 99, No. 7: "*Ianitor ante fores*," &c., St. Peter and St. Paul are similarly juxtaposed, owing to the sanctuary of one being at the entrance of the river into the city and that of the other at its exit.

178. The topography of the Vatican quarter, which we now have to study, is of a totally different character from that of our previous road from the Lateran to the Capitol, and thence across the plain to the Ælian Bridge. We have now quitted the city. The Vatican territory is not as yet girt by walls and towers; it is merely a sparsely inhabited district of gardens and hills. As we approach St. Peter's church the population, however, becomes somewhat denser. Between the gardens run the great highroads in straight and mournful lines, bordered by the sepulchral monuments of Pagan Rome. The nearer they lie to the city the more splendid are these tombs. A modest portico leads straight up to the church of St. Peter, which rises in the background. This portico covers, for the convenience of visitors to the sacred shrine, the ancient **Via Cornelia,** which ran in the same direction. It was probably built at about the same time as the *Porticus maximæ*, *i.e.* during Gratian's reign.

The old name, *Via Cornelia*, was used occasionally till a comparatively late period. A pilgrim-Itinerary of the seventh century[1] says the Apostle Peter is buried beside the first milestone on the Cornelian Way, measured from the Neronian Bridge, the road having started originally from this bridge, which stood below the Ælian, but which even then had long since disappeared. The road passed below the Vatican to the right (*i.e.* north) of the Neronian Circus. Thence, after a short course westward, it turned to the north-west and entered the plain, where its progress can still be traced with tolerable certainty as far as Casale Boccea.[2]

Formerly the *Via triumphalis* also started from the Neronian Bridge. This now corresponds to the present Strada di Monte Mario. It joined, as soon as it had climbed over the Monte Mario, the *Via Clodia* near the present Casale Giustiniana. The *Via Aurelia nova*, which, like the *Via triumphalis*, is named in connection with the ancient church of St. Peter's, was only a short road joining the *Via Cornelia* (not far from Rome) to the real *Via Aurelia* (*vetus*). These roads were all so close together that their names are often confounded in the descriptions of the Vatican region. We seldom hear, for instance, of the *Via Cornelia*, the evident reason of the disuse of its name being that the *Aurelia* and the *triumphalis*, although no more than its

[1] Edited by DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., pp. 141, 182.
[2] LANCIANI, *L' itinerario di Einsiedeln*, p. 123.

continuations, were of greater importance for traffic. Moreover, in consequence of the early destruction of the Neronian Bridge, the commencement of the Cornelian Way had to be transferred to the Ælian Bridge. This explains why, for instance, early authorities often state, with no reference whatever to the *Via Cornelia*, that the Vatican Basilica stands on the *Via Aurelia*, or on the *Via triumphalis*, or in the *Territorium triumphale*.[1]

We are also told that the Basilica of St. Peter stands in or beside the Naumachia. The first to speak of such a spot as the locality of Peter's crucifixion was Pseudo-Linus, who wrote, in the second or third century, the Gnostic, so-called *Acts of Peter*. He says that the Apostle was crucified "*ad locum qui vocatur Naumachiae, iuxta obeliscum Neronis in montem*," designating under the name of Naumachia, the Circus of Nero in front of the Vatican Hill, where the famous obelisk stood. There was, indeed, an ancient Naumachia in the neighbourhood of St. Peter's; in the ninth century it is mentioned in connection with the church of San Pellegrino, and was situated behind the Castle of Sant' Angelo. At a later date the name of Naumachia was extended to the whole neighbourhood between the Vatican Hill, the Emperor Hadrian's Mausoleum, and his Circus to the north of the Mausoleum, and, in fact, even beyond.[2]

It was also customary, in early mediæval days, to call many monuments in the vicinity after the Emperor Nero, whose memory was indelibly fixed in all minds. The custom arose through the presence of the Neronian Circus near St. Peter's. Not only do we frequently hear of the ancient and perfectly

[1] Cp. KIEPERT, *Carta corografica ed archeologica dell' Italia centrale*, 1881, where, on the plate entitled *Dintorni di Roma*, these roads are well shown. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Vaticana*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'hist.*, 1902, p. 3 ff. *Liber pont.*, i., p. 118. *Petrus*, No. 1: "*Qui sepultus est via Aurelia in templum Apollinis, iuxta locum, ubi crucifixus est, iuxta palatium neronianum in Vaticanum, iuxta territorium triumphalem.*" JEROME, *De viris illust.*: "(*S. Petrus*) *sepultus Romae in Vaticano, iuxta viam triumphalem, totius orbis veneratione celebratur.*"

[2] *Liber pont.*, 2, 28, *Leo III.*, No. 412: "*Hic . . . hospitalem beato Petro apostolo in loco qui Naumachia dicitur a fundamentis noviter construens*," &c. Cp. DUCHESNE, note 115, for the identification with San Pellegrino. On the *regio Naumachiae* in the Middle Ages, see JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 328, 430, and XVII. On the Naumachia especially, see DUCHESNE, *Vaticana*, p. 14 ff.; HÜLSEN, *La Naumachia ed il Gajanum, dissert. letta nell' accademia pontif. rom. di archeol.* (Feb. 1902). The latter recognises the Naumachia in the ruins behind the Castle of Sant' Angelo, where others had seen a Circus of Hadrian. This is one of the two Naumachiae described by the Constantinian Catalogue as existing in the fourteenth, transtiberine, region. The other was further south, near the *Porta portuensis*, being perhaps identical with the *lacus transtiberim* established in 245 by the Emperor Philip. Procopius wrongly speaks of it as a stadium when narrating the sally attempted in 537 by the imperial troops when besieged by the Goths.

genuine *Pons Neronis*, but also of a *Palatium Neronis*, an *Aerarium Neronis*, a *Castrum Neronis*, and of a *Tyburtinum Neronis*, all of them quite fanciful names. To these, too, we must add the expression *Campus Neronis*, bestowed on the whole plain on the right bank of the river, bounded by the Vatican Hill and the Monte Mario. It is constantly recorded that the German Emperors of the late Roman Empire, visiting the city during the Middle Ages, pitched their camp in the *Campus Neronis*.[1]

179. In the earliest Roman times, the name **Vaticanus** was used only of the *Ager Vaticanus*, that is, of the plain situated at the foot of the hill. Even in antiquity the name was, however, made to cover the whole complexus of hills lying westward of Rome. Not only the actual Vatican Hill but the Monte Mario, and even, as it seems, the Janiculus up to San Pancrazio were for a long time called *Montes Vaticani*. At last, however, particularly in the Christian period, it became a fixed custom to denominate as the Vatican Hill only that eminence on the slope of which stands the Basilica of St. Peter. A special circumstance contributed to this limitation of the name. The spur on which St. Peter's is situated had in time become in some sense separated from the remaining heights. During the Imperial period an artificial valley had been created between the Monte Mario and the actual, more southerly, Vatican Hill.[2]

The present Valle dell' Inferno and mediæval "Vale of Hell" is, in fact, at its lower reach, where it divides the hills, an artificially formed hollow. At this point, there were formerly a number of sandpits. Early Rome fetched thence its supply of material to make bricks for the vast buildings of the city and its suburbs. There, for instance, were to be found the brickfields of Domitia, in the Domitian Gardens. Their product was exported not only to different districts of Italy, but even so far as Africa, as

[1] On the *Palatium neronianum*, see above, p. 269, note 1; also the *Mirabilia*, ed. PARTHEY, p. 14; ed. JORDAN, p. 624. The church of SS. Michele e Magno stood "*in palatiolo (Neronis)*." DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 278. "*Erarium Neronis, ubi nunc est ecclesia sancti Andree*," *Mirabilia*, p. 14. "*In capella supra Spiritum sanctum* (S. Spirito in Sassia) *in monte in Castro Neronis*," ibid., p. 60. "*Tyburtinum* (alias *terebinthum*) *Neronis*," ibid., p. 28. *Campus Neronis* is found already in PROCOPIUS, *De bello goth.*, 1, c. 19: πεδίον Νέρωνος; cp. PRELLER, *Regionen*, p. 164, 211. JORDAN, (*Topographie*, 2, 430) quotes the *Liber pont.*, *Sergius II.*, No. 47; he might have mentioned a much earlier passage, *Gregor. II.* (715–731), No. 22 (ed. DUCHESNE, 1, 407): "*Cum tota sua hoste in Neronis campo* (*rex Langobardorum*) *coniunxit*."

[2] For the history of the name Vatican during antiquity, see ELTER, *Rheinisches Museum*, 46 (1891), 112 ff.; *Bulletin critique*, 1891, p. 219.

is proved by the bricks found there stamped with Domitia's mark.[1]

Thus did the prolonged labour of centuries create valleys where before there were hills, or only slight depressions. It has recently been ascertained that other valleys in this sandy district owe their origin to similar causes.[2]

At other places among the hills, long valleys cut through the rock are also the work of Roman hands. For instance, the Valle dei Morti, below the village of Marino, near Rome, is merely an old quarry, whence the Romans obtained the blocks of peperino for their structures. The lofty peak left standing still shows us the original height of the rock, cut and carried away at the cost of gigantic effort. Something similar may be seen below the hills of the ancient Tibur (Tivoli), whence the Romans procured their *Lapis tiburtinus*, or travertine.

The sight of such enormous excavations as those in the Vatican Valle dell' Inferno gives a better idea than anything else of the size of the ancient city. The monuments of Rome were like mountains devouring other real mountains. We can understand how the crumbling of such monuments sufficed, during the Middle Ages, to bury, as in a deep tomb, the ancient streets of the city.

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180. After this topographical digression we may begin our walk through the Vatican quarter. Two heathen monuments strike the eye as we pass through the portico leading to the basilica. First a very lofty pyramidal structure, called in the Middle Ages the **Tomb of Romulus.** This pyramid stood in the vicinity of the present church Santa Maria Traspontina. It remained almost intact until the time of Alexander VI., and is not only often mentioned in documents, but also frequently figures in early pictures of St. Peter's martyrdom, or of the fortress of Sant' Angelo, being considered a distinctive feature of the neighbourhood.[3]

[1] Cp. LANCIANI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1892, p. 288.

[2] Lanciani (ibid.) speaks, for instance, of the deep Valli del Gelsomino, delle Fornaci, del Vicolo delle cave, della Balduina.

[3] For instance, on the picture of Nicholas III. previously referred to (p. 264, note 1). Also on the Crucifixion of Peter in the upper church at Assisi. See the representations of the Castle of Sant' Angelo in BORGATTI, *Castel Sant' Angelo*, Pl. 10*a*. Cp. LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 525. The site of the monument is shown on Bufalini's large map of Rome.

The real name of the monument is unknown. During the fifth and sixth centuries it was commonly called the "Tomb of Scipio," but with no warrant, and only to meet the craving for a name of mark. About the year 1000 it had, however, already received the more high-sounding appellation of *Meta Romuli*, or *Sepulcrum Romuli*. The fancy of the period also created monuments of Remus; near the *Porta Ostiensis*, or *Porta sancti Pauli*, an antique building was called *Templum Remi*, and the well-known sepulchral pyramid of Cestius, matching the Vatican pyramid just spoken of, was named the "Tomb of Remus," in spite of the clear inscription which it bears. Thus the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus, kept watch, as it were, over the roads leading to Rome's most sacred sanctuaries. One stood sentry near the Basilica of St. Peter, the other near that of St. Paul. The Middle Ages lacked no ingenuity, even in its myths. The *Sepulcrum Romuli* was, moreover, not unworthy of being connected with the Prince of the Apostles. According to the *Mirabilia*, it was faced with splendid slabs of stone, and had a forecourt paved with blocks of travertine, was well drained with gutters, and had a garden attached.[1]

The second monument to be seen from the Vatican portico was likewise a tomb. In the *Mirabilia* it is called the Tyburtinum of Nero. The other more popular title, **Terebinthus Neronis**, seems due to a faulty reading and to a confusion with a real terebinth of the neighbourhood, of which we shall speak later on. It is reasonable to suppose that the *Tyburtinum Neronis* was built of *Lapis tiburtinus*, or travertine. It was a slender, lofty monument, so tall that the *Mirabilia*, doubtless exaggerating, makes it equal in height to the Mausoleum of Hadrian. We are also told that it was circular in shape, and that two projecting ledges ran round it, presumably at two different storeys, just as was the case with the Mausoleum.[2]

[1] "*Sepulcrum Scipionis*" in ACCON, *Scholia* on Horace's *Epodes*, 9, No. 25; see JORDAN, *Topographie*, 2, 405. Bufalini also has this name. In a Bull of Leo IX., of the year 1053 (JAFFÉ², No. 4292): "*memoria Romuli.*" *Ordo Benedicti Canonici*: "*Memoria seu sepulcrum Romuli*"; LANCIANI, *L' itinerario*, p. 525. *Mirabilia*, 28: "*Sepulcrum Romuli, quod vocatur meta sancti Petri*" (here follows the description). Likewise MALLIUS; DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 220. "*Templum Remi*," in the *Mirabilia*, p. 2. *Remi sepulchrum* on the ancient plan of Rome in DE ROSSI, *Piante icnografiche di Roma*, Pl. 2, No. 1. See above, Ill. 32.

[2] *Mirabilia*, p. 28: "*Tyburtinum Neronis* (Parthey's reading) . . . *Quod edificium rotundum fuit duobus gironibus sicut castrum*" (*i.e. Mausoleum Hadriani*). DE ROSSI thought the ruin might have been the end of the circus (*Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 220). But Jordan says (and probably with greater truth) that it must have been 'a slim and lofty

Progressing further, we should next notice, on the brow of the hill to the left, the little church of the Archangel **Michael**. Pope Symmachus, whose pontificate began towards the close of the fifth century, as is well known, had it widened, and also built the flight of steps leading up to it. It is the church beside which, since the eighth century, the Frisians had established a settlement (*Schola Frisonum*). This still exists as a chapel of ease of St. Peter's, under the name of SS. Michele e Magno.[1]

On this hill the Archangel, so to speak, mounted guard over the Vatican territory committed to his charge. The choice of this site for the church agrees perfectly with a custom which was gradually becoming the rule, viz. to dedicate high places, whether in towns or on the mountains, to St. Michael. Even Hadrian's Mausoleum, at the beginning of the seventh century, was to be crowned with that small chapel of the Archangel from which it derives to the present day its name of Castel Sant' Angelo.

181. From the church of St. Michael on the hill near the Vatican Basilica, it must have been possible to enjoy the best complete view of the remarkable collection of monuments, both Pagan and Christian, which the district contained. From that spot, first of all, might have been seen the mighty, far-stretching Basilica of St. Peter's with its lofty frontage. With its solemn rows of windows between the straight lines of roofs and walls, it stood there in majestic grandeur, surrounded by a sort of attendant crowd of buildings, forming quite a small town; the devotion to St. Peter, both of the Romans and of strangers flocking to this spot, had led many to take up here their fixed abode. Procopius calls special attention to this fact.[2]

There were hostels here for the poor and the pilgrims, and also several monasteries. In this matter St. Peter's rivalled the Lateran, St. Paul's, and St. Lawrence's.[3]

The oldest such **monastery** mentioned in history was founded by Leo the Great, and dedicated to the Roman martyrs John and Paul.[4]

sepulchral monument." I think I can identify it on the two pictures of St. Peter's Crucifixion already mentioned (pp. 264, 271). LANCIANI (*L' itinerario*, p. 526) puts both monuments at the spot where the *Via triumphalis* strikes off from the *Via Cornelia*, close by the Quadrivium or Carfax, near the modern church of Sta. Maria Traspontina.

[1] See ante, p. 198, note 4.

[2] *De bello goth.*, II., c. 1. PRELLER, *Regionen der Stadt Rom*, p. 211, 212.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 1, 263, *Symmachus*, No. 80: "*pauperibus habitacula.*"

[4] Ibid., 1, 239, *Leo I.*, No. 66. DUCHESNE, note 11.

In a convent beside St. Peter's lived St. Galla, daughter of the Consul and Patrician Symmachus. She lost her husband during the first year of her happy married life. Hither to the vicinity of the Apostle's tomb she withdrew during the period of Gothic rule, to devote herself to the spiritual life and to the relief of the poor. Gregory the Great, who eagerly followed up the local pious traditions regarding the worship of the Apostle, only a few years later, in this very convent, was to hear the account of St. Peter appearing to St. Galla during her last illness to comfort her with the announcement of her speedy dissolution.[1]

Two episcopal residences, *Episcopia*, seen on either side of the church, date from Pope Symmachus. They form the first beginning of the Vatican Palace.[2]

In front of the basilica stands a cheerful and pleasant open place called the *Campus sancti Petri*, and corresponding to the *Campus Lateranensis* in front of the basilica attached to the then Papal residence in the south of the city. Pope Symmachus had also adorned the square in front of St. Peter's with a fountain (*cantharus*), and had likewise embellished the *cantharus* already existing in the atrium of the church.[3]

On the left-hand side of the basilica (Ill. 64)[4] stood also two circular Christian mausoleums dating from the Christian Empire. The one on the west was the tomb built by Honorius for himself and his family. Later it became a church, and was called the Rotunda of St. Petronilla. The other mausoleum was called the Rotunda of St. Andrew. It was built for the same purpose, as a burial-place for the Imperial family as soon as the other mausoleum proved too small to receive any more of the sumptuous sarcophagi. Pope Symmachus, of whom we have already heard, made it into a church of the above Apostle, doubtless wishing to honour St. Peter by consecrating a church to his brother Andrew so near his tomb. He also provided the rotunda with a fine portico on the outside.[5] Symmachus worked more than any other Pope between the fourth and the seventh century to complete

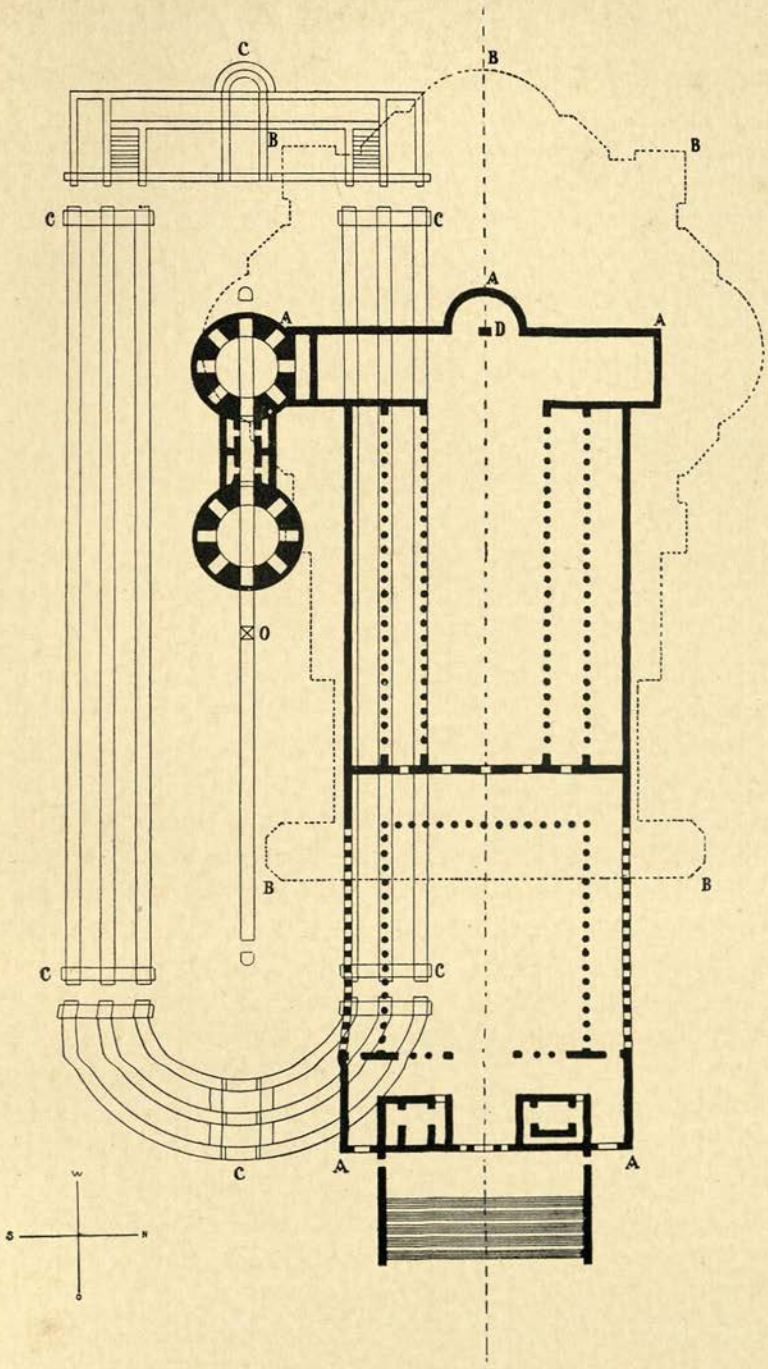
[1] *Dialog.*, 4, c. 13: "*sese apud beati Petri ecclesiam monasterio tradidit*," &c.

[2] "*Episcopia in eodem loco, dextra levaque fecit. Item sub gradus in atrio alium cantharum foris in campo posuit et usum necessitatis humanae* (ἀναγκαῖον) *fecit*," &c. See following note.

[3] *Liber pont.*, 1, 262, *Symmachus*, No. 79 ff.

[4] Cp. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* (1888), p. 273. The high-altar was at D, *i.e.* above the Confession.

[5] *Liber pont.*, 1, 261, *Symmachus*, No. 79; DUCHESNE, note 16.



Ill. 64.—Plan of Old St. Peter's (A), showing its relation to the present building (B), and old Neronian Circus (C).

the vast structures which went to form St. Peter's. This is explained by the circumstances of his pontificate. Owing to the schism occasioned by the Antipope Lawrence, he was not able to take possession of the Lateran. In consequence he took up his residence near St. Peter's, and did all he could to beautify the Vatican buildings.

182. Lying round the two rotundas just described we might then have seen the vast ruins of the Neronian Circus, begun by Caligula (CC). Where its centre had been there stood the far-famed obelisk (O). This is the same monolith that has stood on the modern Piazza di San Pietro since the time of Sixtus V. The slender column, nearly 84 feet in height, had been brought from Egypt by the Emperor Caligula, and dedicated with religious rites to his two Imperial predecessors, *divus Augustus* and *divus Tiberius*.[1]

At the time of our imaginary visit the obelisk was yet standing on its original site, which it also retained throughout the Middle Ages, *i.e.* in the middle of the *spina* dividing lengthway the elliptical area of the circus, and around which the horses and chariots raced. The two mausoleums stood both of them on the *spina* of the forsaken circus. A tablet in the ground in front of the present sacristy of St. Peter's has marked since the time of Sixtus V. the direction of the *spina* and the site of the obelisk, thus indicating the centre of that unique monumental group, consisting of the towering monolith, the two mausoleums, the remains of the *spina*, and of the rising tiers of the circus on the left, all sheltered beneath the peaceful shadow of St. Peter's Basilica.

An adjacent building also belonged to the Circus of Nero, probably serving as an exercise-ground, or as stables for the circus factions. Some interesting early inscriptions have been found relating to this structure, which must have stood on much the same footing as the club-house of the Green faction near St. Lawrence *in Damaso*. They were found on the spot itself, one having even been built into St. Peter's in the course of the Middle Ages. This one tells of the victories of innumerable racers, giving in full the names of each immortal steed. The white Nitidus, the grey Fuscus, the bay Decoratus, the brown Raptor, and so forth. At the present day this extraordinary

[1] Inscription in the *Corpus inscr. lat.*, VI., No. 882.

equine chronicle may be inspected embedded in the wall of a passage in the sacristy of St. Peter's.[1]

The Neronian Circus itself was built in the Gardens of Agrippina. It filled a rather narrow natural depression at the base of the actual Vatican Hill. It probably received its title of *Gaianum*, found even in the Constantinian Regionary Survey, from the Emperor Gaius Caligula, who began it, though possibly this Gaianum in the fourteenth region, Transtiberim, may refer to Hadrian's Circus. The Emperor Nero completed the edifice. He chose it as his favourite haunt, where he could display his skill as a horseman before the amazed senators and populace. That the same cruel emperor condemned Christians to die a fearful death in the neighbouring, so-called Neronian, Gardens, is a fact for which we have the authority of Tacitus himself.[2]

As the Basilica of St. Peter was erected in the same depression as the circus, the latter was almost entirely engulfed in the new construction. The whole right or northern side was covered by the church. The pillars of the left wall of the nave were simply placed upon the foundation of the circus seats, which can scarcely have been adapted to carry so weighty a superstructure (cp. Ill. 64). So wide was the basilica that it not only covered the *Via Cornelia*, which ran alongside the right wall of the circus, but also a piece of the undulating land on the further side of the highway. As the hill was a hindrance, it was partly cut away. Only thereby was it possible to bring the much-revered **Tomb** almost exactly into the middle of the apse of the basilica (D), this being the main object of the whole enterprise. The orientation of the old church was the same as that of the modern one, viz. from west to east, the same as that of the circus and of the *Via Cornelia*.[3]

[1] Inscriptions in the *Corpus*, VI., No. 10,048 ff.; that in St. Peter's, ibid., No. 10,056 ff.

[2] TACITUS, *Annal.*, 15, c. 44: "*Nero . . . quaesitissimis poenis adfecit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus christianos adpellabat . . . Pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut, ferarum tergis contecti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi, aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae permixtus plebi, vel curriculo insistens.* Cp. 14, c. 14. Cp. A. PROFUMO, *Le fonti ed i tempi dello incendio neroniano*, 1905.

[3] The slight deviation of the grave from the true axis of the ancient as well as of the modern church, was caused by the hill to the right of the *Via Cornelia* having been insufficiently cut away. As the difficulties on this side were found too great, and as it was necessary for the altar to be in the centre, the altar, instead of being placed exactly above the tomb, was moved a few feet to the left of the shaft which marks the spot where Peter lies buried. The difference was never concealed; it was recognised throughout the Middle Ages, and can still be pointed out. Had Constantine's architects been responsible for the position of the tomb, such an irregularity would be incomprehensible;

The *Liber Pontificalis* mentions a Temple of Apollo as a monument formerly standing on the spot now occupied by St. Peter's. Nothing further is known of this temple, nor can it have been one of any importance. It may possibly have been the Frigianum (*Phrygianum*) that the Constantinian Regionary Survey mentions immediately after the *Gaianum*. The *Phrygianum*, however, must have been the grotto in which the Phrygian worship of Cybele, the mother of the gods, was performed. This worship was continued near the left aisle of the basilica, as if in mockery of the Christians, until late in the fourth century, by heathen men of rank.[1]

The Tomb of St. Peter in Topography and History

183. After our long ramble we have reached the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles. Let us first bestow our attention on Peter's Tomb and cast a glance back on its earliest history, and on that of the numerous other tombs surrounding it. A full description of the basilica itself must stand over for another time, but such is the abiding significance of the tomb that the following historical and topographical details are indispensable at the present juncture.

The ancient *Via Cornelia*, with its graves to the right and left, gives the key for the understanding of the local circumstances of St. Peter's Tomb.

The *Cornelia* ran, as we know, from the open place in front of St. Peter's lengthwise through the space covered by the ancient basilica, and eventually occupied by the new church in the sixteenth century. At the beginning of the Middle Ages the sepulchral monuments on either side were still in partial or even total preservation, and were to be seen all along the approach to the

it can only be explained by the fact that the place of Peter's burial was already fixed incontrovertibly. The oldest plan of St. Peter's is that of Tiberio Alfarano, which appeared in 1590; cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr.*, 2, 1, 229, with commentary; DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 192. It had already previously been reprinted by others. Cp. the very exact plan of the church and circus in C. FONTANA, *Il tempio Vaticano*, Roma, 1694; for the connection of the church with the *Via Cornelia*, see the Plan in LANCIANI, *Forma urbis*, and in *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 129.

[1] See what has been already said on pp. 13–14 concerning the *Phrygianum* and the *arae* of Phrygian worship found in 1608 and 1609. According to the *Mirabilia*, p. 14, the Rotunda of St. Petronilla was originally a temple to Apollo; it adds: "*Ibique est aliud templum, quod fuit erarium* (al. *vestiarium*) *Neronis, ubi nunc est ecclesia Sancti Andree.* All these statements are imaginary, and deserve no credence. On the topography of the Vatican region, see DUCHESNE, *Vaticana.*

basilica. This was proved by later excavations. Ancient burial vaults, though concealed by the soil, bordered the highway and extended even below the raised Atrium of St. Peter's, and under the basilica itself. Behind the church this line of vaults touched a Christian cemetery, in use before the time of Constantine, while, under the church, remains have been found of another early Christian burial-ground.

To appreciate these statements, we must make closer acquaintance with the results of these excavations, especially with those undertaken beneath the main approach to St. Peter's.

Under Alexander VII., whilst the left or southern wing of Bernini's portico was in course of erection, the foundations were dug for a fountain to be placed in front of St. Peter's, with the result that a heathen funereal monument was brought to light, bearing a wedding represented *in relievo*, and of which a sketch still exists. On the same occasion various heathen sarcophagi were also found, one being in porphyry. Details of these finds are contained among the notes of the contemporary archæologist, Pietro Sante Bartoli.[1]

Even earlier, under Paul V., during the excavations in the forecourt of the ancient Basilica of St. Peter, for the purpose of laying the foundations of the new structure, three ancient sepulchral monuments were discovered (July 19, 1614). In one of them was found the sarcophagus of the famous actress, Claudia Hermione. We have contemporary records of this find also.[2]

Another discovery on November 9, 1616, is described by an eye-witness, Giacomo Grimaldi, keeper of the Vatican Archives. He relates how, beneath the seventh step in front of the central entrance to the church, he was taken into a heathen sepulchral cella deep underground, and found it adorned with painted stucco. He also tells us that, under Gregory XIII., a heathen sarcophagus, still containing a corpse, had been taken out of the same place, and had been set up as a fountain-basin in the courtyard of the Swiss Guard.[3]

The accounts concerning the underground discoveries in the church itself are still more remarkable. We have an exact description of the excavations which took place, under Urban VIII.,

[1] BARTOLI, *Memorie di varie escavazioni fatte in Roma* (FEA, *Miscellanea filologica, critica e antiquaria*, p. 222 ff.), 236, No. 56.
[2] LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 129.
[3] *Codex Barberini, XXXIV.*, 50. LANCIANI, ibid.

prior to the erection of the bronze baldachin near the Confession of St. Peter and over the high altar of the church. This account has only lately been published. According to it the works began on June 30, 1626. It soon became clear that the place had in ancient times contained both heathen and Christian sepulchres. Funerary urns and indubitably heathen graves came to light at a depth of some thirteen feet below the surface of the Constantinian Basilica; also a heathen sarcophagus, with the dead man depicted reposing in effigy on the lid. Above and beside these graves bodies of Christians were also found completely shrouded, according to the Christian custom, in narrow strips of linen. They lay in simple marble sarcophagi, bearing no inscriptions. The Christian graves, though situated on different sides of the Confession, were so placed that the heads of the deceased were turned towards a centre beneath the altar. A wall upon which the workmen stumbled seemed to form a square around the centre. Unfortunately pious timidity prevented the work being pushed forward as far as the central point.[1]

The preceding statements are fully borne out by the accounts given us by an eye-witness regarding earlier excavations in 1615 under Paul V. The reason for these was the erection of the present Confession in front of the high altar. On that occasion, too, Christian bodies swathed in the usual bandages were brought to light. The archæologist, Francesco Maria Torrigio, states that they reminded him of Lazarus who had been similarly bound up in a shroud before being laid in his grave. They, too, all had their heads turned to the centre. On that occasion also on a sarcophagus was read the name—or perhaps only the last letters of the name—LINVS, the rest of the inscription being illegible. Torrigio merely gives the name of Linus without ascribing it to St. Peter's first successor. Not long after him, however, the Oratorian, Giovanni Severano, seemingly with nothing but Torrigio's report to rely upon, announced that the grave of Linus, the Roman bishop, had been found. Such a discovery would certainly have been one of great import. As, however, the state-

[1] The account by R. Ubaldi, a contemporary and eye-witness, from the Vatican archives, first published by ARMELLINI, *Chiese di Roma*[2], p. 697 ff.: *Relazione di quanto è occorso nel cavare i fondamenti per le quattro colonne di bronzo erette da Urbano VIII. all' altare della basilica di San Pietro.* Cp. DE WAAL, *Die Ausgrabungen bei der Confessio von S. Peter, im Jahre* 1626, in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, I (1887), I ff., where excerpts are given; also LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 129 ff.

ment seems to have but little support, we prefer not to lay any stress upon it, though, according to de Rossi, it may possibly in the future be explained by new discoveries.[1] Pursuing our course among the sepulchres along the former *Via Cornelia*, we shall find again, just behind the ancient basilica, Christian graves mingled with Pagan. The mausoleum of the Christian Anicii adjoined the apse of the church, and was known later as the Temple of Probus. The Christians of this illustrious family rested in the vicinity of the Pagans, as is proved by the excavations.[2]

As is well known wherever the Roman Church was able to establish fresh cemeteries, for instance, in the early Christian catacombs, such promiscuity of heathen and Christian interments was never tolerated. The catacombs were exclusively reserved for the burial of Christians. A different usage, however, obtained in these common burial-places alongside public highways such as the ancient *Via Cornelia*. Here the graves lay, not in a series of underground passages, but, just as we may still observe on the Appian Way, alongside the road, and mostly on the surface of the ground, where their position was shown by monuments. Besides this, the nature of the subsoil on the hill where the Vatican stands, made catacombs impracticable. In its clay and loose sandy soil no one could have constructed galleries as in the tufa (Pozzolana) in which the catacombs were excavated.

An instructive instance of the way in which heathen and Christian tombs are intermingled in all burial-places situated above ground is afforded by the Basilica of St. Paul on the Ostian Way. During the erection of the new baldachin above the high altar, a Pagan place of sepulture was found close by the Tomb of the Apostle, which still bears a dedicatory tablet dating from the Constantinian period. Thus, even there in closest proximity to a renowned Christian site Paganism was repre-

[1] TORRIGIO, *Le sacre grotte vaticane*, Viterbo, 1618, p. 53; Roma, 1639, p. 61. SEVERANO, *Memoria delle sette chiese*, Roma, 1630, p. 120. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ. urbis Romae*, 2, 1, 236, where he deals with the so-called Tomb of Linus and defends his previous statements in the *Bullett. archeol. crist.* (1864, p. 50) against Victor Schultze. He shows that the credibility of Torrigio's statements is confirmed by the history of the relics of St. Linus. See also KRAUS, *Roma sotterranea*[2], p. 68, 532. A contemporary plan of those excavations by Benedetto Drey (1635) was reproduced by SARTI, *Appendix ad Dionysii Cryptas vaticanas* (not numbered, but at the end), by LANCIANI, and on a larger scale by DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 235. Cp. the drawing and commentary in A. S. BARNES, *St. Peter in Rome and his Tomb on the Vatican Hill* (1900).

[2] DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 111 ff., 234, 348. DE WAAL, *Römische Quartalschrift*, l.c., p. 17. *Des Apostelfürsten Ruhestätte*, p. 11. On Alfarano's earliest plan of the basilica the mausoleum is marked by the letter K.

sented in an ancient *Columbarium*, buried indeed, but in perfect preservation, and yet containing its cinerary urns.[1]

A notice of the time of Heliogabalus (218–222) alludes also to heathen tombs in or near the Vatican Circus of Nero, stating that this Emperor had caused the destruction of certain tombs there because they were supposed to interfere with the games. As regards the Christian burial-places, however, which we find adjoining the heathen ones at the back of St. Peter's, Pope Damasus has left us an inscription, couched in poetic form, in which he tells how he established a channel to lead off the water trickling down from the hill, lest it should injure the graves of those who slumbered there, and had brought it down into the Baptistery of St. Peter's to be used for baptism. This Damasian conduit still exists, and the burial-place in question is no other than the celebrated Vatican cemetery, the earliest large churchyard in the vicinity of St. Peter's tomb.[2]

184. The early Christian **Cemetery of the Vatican** was behind the ancient basilica on the top of the hill, and covered a portion of the downward slope. Its history will give us an opportunity of inspecting a whole series of celebrated early Christian monuments which have been found there.[3]

First of all there is the tombstone set up to Licinia Amias, an eloquent memorial of the Christian's faith. It displays the earliest signs employed in the symbolic language of Christianity: two fishes with the Anchor of Eternal Hope between them. Above the sculptured figures stand in Greek the words: "The Fish of the Living," giving the meaning of the symbols: The Fish is Christ, who is thus exhibited as the Mediator and the

[1] DE ROSSI (*Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 349), besides this discovery, quotes similar instances of Pagan tombs in the Cemetery of St. Cyriaca at St. Lawrence's, and in that of St. Agnes on the *Via Nomentana*. Any visitor to the Catacombs of St. Callistus on the Appian Way can see such outside the entrance.

[2] LAMPRIDIUS, *Vita Heliogabali*: "*dirutis sepulchris, quae obsistebant.*" Damasus in the poem: *Cingebant latices*, &c. See GRISAR, *Analecta romana*, 1, 88. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 56, 349, 350, 411. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, p. CXXII. KRAUS, *Roma sotterranea*[2], p. 532. On the Damasian Aqueduct, see LANCIANI, *Acque ed Acquedotti*, p. 26.

[3] On the Vatican Cemetery, which was yet in existence at the time of Maphaeus Vegius (1406–1457), the author of the work *De basilica Vaticana*, see DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 349. KRAUS, *Roma sotterranea*[2], p. 531. ARMELLINI, *Cimiteri*[2], p. 528 ff. An indication of the works there, belonging to the time of Leo I., will be found in my *Analecta*, 1, 87. On Alfarano's plan of the basilica it is given under the letter *l* as the *Coemeterium fontis sancti Petri*. The data, both topographical and historical, of C. ERBES, *Die Todestage der Apostel Petrus und Paulus und ihre römischen Denkmäler* (1899), are sadly in need of correction. See KNELLER, *Zeitschr für kath. Theologie*, 26 (1902), p. 351 ff.

Hope of Eternal Life. This monument, belonging to the second, or early portion of the third century, was intended, judging by its shape, to stand above the surface of the ground, and serve as this Christian lady's memorial. Quite possibly it came from a Pagan workshop.[1]

The remarkable sarcophagus of Livia Primitiva was also found in this place, with its representation of the Fish, the Anchor, and the Good Shepherd with His sheep. (Ill. 65). The symbolism

Ill. 65.—Sarcophagus of Livia Primitiva.

and the workmanship of this piece of sculpture proves it to belong to the period anterior to Constantine[2]; and hence, too, comes a sarcophagus, now at the Lateran Museum, to which, having regard to its artistic character, a date prior to Constantine must be assigned; its decorations are antique and almost idyllic.[3]

The rich mine of the whilom Vatican Cemetery continues, even in our own day, to yield Christian memorials. A sarcophagus belonging to the fourth century, brought to light near the Vatican in 1890, depicts Jonas between two shepherds.[4]

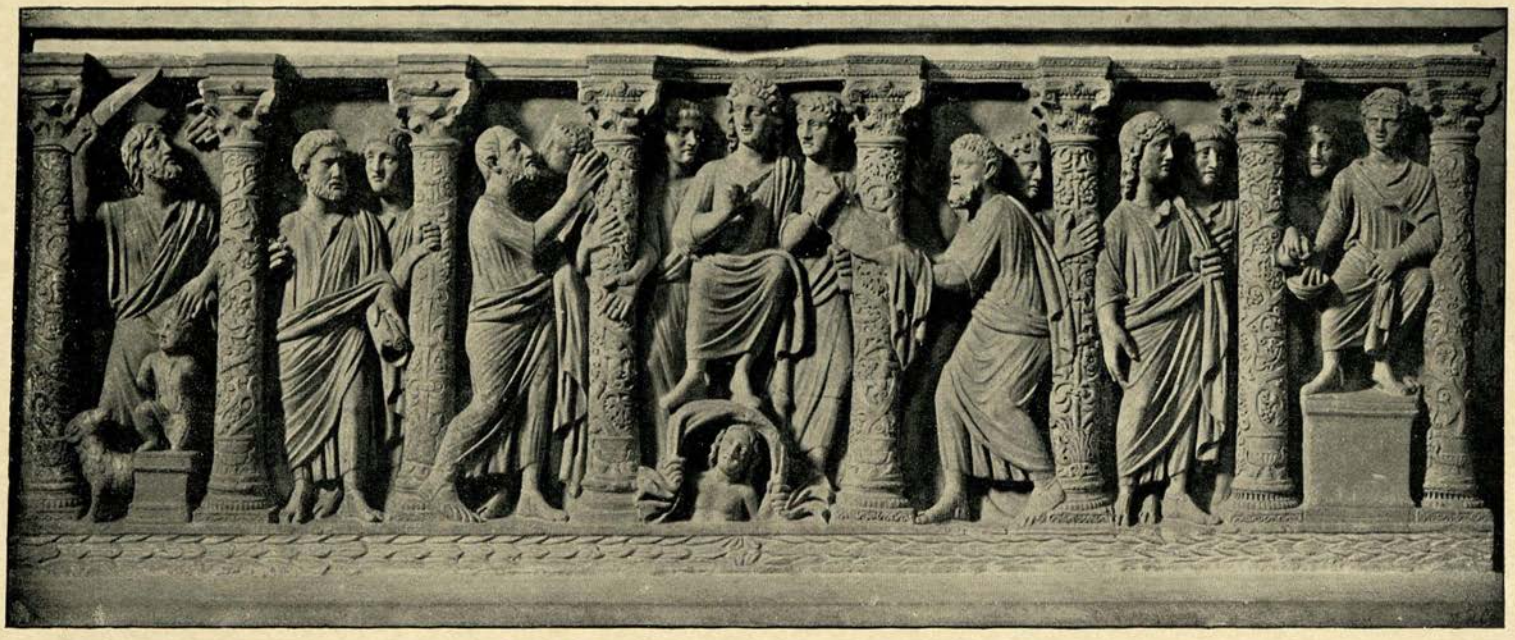
But the finest discovery in this neighbourhood was a sarcophagus of classical shape, now at the Lateran Museum. Between representations of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Condemnation of Christ, is pictured *in relievo* the solemn conferring of the Law on St. Peter. (Ill. 66). Above Uranus with his canopy of clouds

[1] Cp. Wilpert's explanations of this stele (remarkable on account of the IXΘΥC ZΩNTΩN) in his *Principienfragen der christlichen Archäologie* (1889), p. 68 ff. (against Schultze, Achelis, and others). See ibid., Pl. 1, No. 3, the photograph.

[2] Kraus, l.c., p. 532. Armellini, l.c., p. 531. Cp. with illustrations in de Rossi, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1870, Pl. 5, and in Wilpert, *Principienfragen*, Pl. 1.

[3] Garrucci, *Arte cristiana*, 5, Pl. 307, No. 1. Cp. Ficker, *Altchristliche Bildwerke des Laterans*, p. 60 ff.

[4] De Rossi, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1890, p. 21. The discovery was made close by the *Porta Angelica*, since demolished. Cp. C. Erbes, *Das Alter der Gräber und Kirchen des Paulus und Petrus in Rom*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengesch.*, 7 (1884–1885), 1 ff., in which he seeks in vain to establish that no cemetery existed here before the fourth century. Lipsius (*Apocryphe Apostelgeschichten*², 1, 403) nevertheless opines that Erbes has settled the non-existence of this cemetery before Constantine's time.



Ill. 66.—Bestowal of the Law on St. Peter.
(Front of a Sarcophagus from the ancient Christian Cemetery of the Vatican.)

sits our Saviour enthroned in Divine Majesty, handing to the Chief of the Apostles the scroll of the Law: *i.e.* authority to govern His Church. Peter, a powerfully built figure with short curly hair and a round full beard, accepts the gift in his covered hands, his attitude suggesting surprise and reverence.[1]

This representation on the Lateran sarcophagus, with Uranus under the feet of Christ, cannot fail to put us in mind of the words with which the earliest preserved catalogue of the Roman bishops begins. Under the first name—that of Peter—allusion is made to the fact that Christ forsook the earth to ascend above it into heaven. "After the Lord's Ascension," it says, "blessed Peter took over the episcopacy, and a succession was established, as is described in the following list, with the names, the years, and the concomitant emperors."[2]

After this glance round the immediate vicinity of Peter's Tomb and over the discoveries made there, we must now turn our attention to the central spot itself.

185. Before Constantine's time, a crypt (*memoria*)—perhaps similar to an oratory—well known and deeply revered by Christians, stood upon the spot now shown as the Confession of St. Peter. It was the universal and rooted belief that it contained the body of the Prince of the Apostles. Peter, according to the tradition of the Roman Church, after suffering martyrdom in Rome, was buried at this spot beside the *Via Cornelia*, just as Paul, his companion in the apostleship and in martyrdom, was interred on the *Via Ostiensis*; moreover, it was held, the earliest occupants of the Roman episcopacy had also found a last resting-place in this same crypt. Two documents allude in detail to this burial-place; though they are not of very early date, their contents deserve respectful consideration. The earliest pilgrims' hand-book known to us starts its enumeration of the holy places with the words: "First of all Peter. He rests on the eastern

[1] The sarcophagus is reproduced in GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 5, Pl. 323, Nos. 4–6. Cp. FICKER, l.c., p. 117 ff. On the significance of the scene of the bestowal of the scroll on Peter (*Dominus legem dat*), see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1868, p. 39 ff.; 1887, p. 23 ff. GARRUCCI, *Arte crist.*, 1, 395 (on the various senses of *legem dat*). Cp. what we said above regarding the lamp of Valerius (p. 63). GARRUCCI, l.c., 6, 105; 1, 204. On the meaning of the formula as used of Peter, ibid., 1, 431; 5, 70; 1, 217, 336. See DE WAAL in KRAUS, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, 2, 609.

[2] *Catalogus liberianus*, ed. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 2: "*post ascensum eius* (*Christi*) *beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit*," &c.

Note to Ill. 66.—From a photograph by Alinari. The work probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century.

side of the city, beside the first milestone on the *Via Cornelia*. At the same spot his successors (*pontificalis ordo*), with a few exceptions, also sleep each in his own tomb."[1]

Similarly the author of the *Liber Pontificalis* also embodies in his work this traditional datum. He tells us that Peter was buried in the vicinity of the Neronian Circus, beside the Vatican. And he further states, probably from personal observation, since he must have seen the tombs: Linus, Peter's first successor, "was buried beside Peter's body in the Vatican." His second successor, Anacletus, also erected the *Memoria* to St. Peter, as well as other places of interment for his successors. In his notice of Pope Cornelius he alludes to "the bodies of the holy bishops," reposing around the Prince of the Apostles.[2]

Our earlier study of the topography of the place and the finds made all along the road in the forecourt and on the very site of St. Peter's, enable us to point out, on the right-hand side of the *Via Cornelia*, a locality rather more than half-way along the northern wall of the Neronian Circus, as the spot occupied by the Vatican *Memoria*. So certain is this result that Rodolfo Lanciani, the most eminent present-day authority on the topography of Rome, can even speak of the "monumental evidence" for the historical tradition regarding St. Peter's Tomb.[3]

This certainty notwithstanding, let us take history as our guide and go over the earliest statements bearing upon the tomb, the life, and glorious end of St. Peter at Rome.

186. Towards the end of the second century, a Roman presbyter, named Gaius, took up the cudgels on behalf of several doctrines of the Church against the Phrygian Montanist Proclus. In proof of the authority to which Roman tradition could pretend in matters of doctrine, he refers to the Apostles Peter and Paul, who had worked in the Church of Rome, and after their glorious

[1] Itinerary (seventh century) in DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., 141, 182.

[2] *Liber pont.*, 1, 118, *Petrus*, No. 1. Ibid., 1, 125. *Anacletus*, No. 5: "*Hic memoriam beati Petri construxit et conposuit . . . seu alia loca ubi episcopi reconderentur sepulturae.* Ibid., 1, 150, *Cornelius*, No. 22. Ed. MOMMSEN, p. 4, 8, 29.

[3] For the trifling difference between the tomb and the axis of the church, see above, p. 276, note 3, where this is explained by the difficulty of clearing away the hill. LANCIANI, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 125: "Must we consider them all as labouring under a delusion, or as conspiring in the commission of a gigantic fraud?" And previously: "There is no event of the imperial age and of imperial Rome, which is attested by so many noble structures, all of which point to the same conclusion—the presence and execution of the Apostles in the capital of the Empire." P. 123: "For the archæologist the presence and execution of SS. Peter and Paul in Rome are facts established beyond a shadow of doubt by purely *monumental evidence*."

death had bequeathed it their tombs as trophies of victory. "For," says he, "whether you go to the Vatican or to the *Via Ostia*, you meet there the trophies of victory of the founders of this Church." The work of Gaius is lost, but the historian Eusebius, when composing his Church History, was able to consult it either entirely, or at least in part, and the context certainly led him to take "trophies of victory" as equivalent to tombs.[1]

In the second century we find that, both in Greece and throughout the Eastern Church, it was everywhere acknowledged that Peter had been the founder and leader of the Roman community. About the year 170, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, a man of great repute in his day, speaks of this. He mentions the journey to Rome undertaken by both Peter and Paul, and terms the Church there one of their foundations. St. Ignatius, of Antioch in Syria, writing to the Christians at Rome to announce his coming as a Christian confessor condemned to death, and to exhort and instruct them, says: "But not as Peter and Paul do I command you; they were Apostles, I am but a captive of Christ." In these words he assumes it to be well known to his hearers that Peter and Paul had preached in person to the faithful at Rome.[2] It was only some fifteen centuries later that all this was pronounced legendary.

It is evident that great historical weight must be attached to such remarks when the writer so readily assumes a universal belief in the fact that he is at no pains to enforce it, or even to express it at all clearly. Ignatius of Antioch, whom we have just quoted, flourished under the Emperor Trajan (98–117). But even from the reign of Domitian (81–96) we have a similar utterance by St. Clement of Rome, which again merely accepts the fact. After having praised the virtue and self-sacrifice displayed by the Apostles Peter and Paul, he associates them, with no distinction of time or place, with the victims of the persecution under Nero, "who among us"—*i.e.* plainly at Rome, in the city where he is writing—"set a glorious example."[3]

[1] EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 25. For the meaning of the word τρόπαια, see FL. RIESS, *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, I (1872), 461 ff. ZISTERER, *Die Apostelgräber nach Gaius*, *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, 1892.

[2] In EUSEBIUS, II., c. 25. IGNAT. ANTIOCH., *Ad Romanos*, c. 4.

[3] CLEM. ROM., *Ad Corinthios*, c. 5, 6. Cp. PROBST, *Katholik*, 1872, 2, 658. RIESS, l.c., p. 471. HILGENFELD, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1877, p. 486 ff.; also my article in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* (of Innsbruck), 1878, p. 207 ff.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, a native of Asia Minor, was acquainted with oriental tradition as well as with that of his second home in Gaul. He had even travelled to Rome to glean the past history of that Church, and to trace the succession of its bishops. In his work, "Against the Heresies," he repeatedly traces back the beginnings of the Church of Rome to Peter and Paul; according to his words, they "founded and erected it;" they established its apostolic tradition; the series of their successors in office received from them an appointment and "a more potent principality;" the Bishops of Rome therefore govern the "greatest, the oldest, and the best-known Church." [1]

Tertullian, the great controversialist of Carthage, another seeker after early traditions, wrote at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third. He, too, had compared the traditions of his own country with those of Rome during the journeys which he undertook. He, too, when it suited his purpose, took advantage of the authority of the apostolic succession in Rome, and the founding of the local See by Peter, to silence teachers of novelties. He had no fear lest the heretics should raise any question as to St. Peter's sojourn in Rome. It is Tertullian who first has a clear allusion to the manner of death suffered by the Apostle, *i.e.* crucifixion, and to the time of his martyrdom, *i.e.* in the persecution under Nero. "Nero was the first," he says, "who stained the rising Faith with blood. Then was Peter (as Christ foretold) girded by another when he was fastened to the cross; then did Paul attain in a higher sense the freedom of Rome, being born there again through his sublime martyrdom. . . . O how happy is this Church in which the Apostles watered their precious teaching with their blood, where Peter was made like unto his Lord in the manner of his death, and where Paul won the same crown as John (*i.e.* the Baptist, by the sword)." [2]

At an early date, too, the Apocrypha exploited St. Peter's death at Rome. The original Greek text of the "Ascension of Isaias," recently discovered, shows us that this work contains a reference to St. Peter being handed over to Nero. The passage

[1] IREN., *Adv. haer.*, 3, c. 1, 3. EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, V., c. 6, 8.

[2] TERTULL., *Scorpiace*, c. 15: "*Orientem fidem primus Nero cruentavit*," &c. *De praescript*, c. 36: "*Habes Romam, unde nobis quoque* (*i.e. Africae*) *auctoritas praesto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt*," &c. Cp. *Adv. Marcion.*, 4, c. 5.

in question is ascribed by Dillmann to the second, and by Harnack to the third century.[1]

In the light of all these testimonies the allusion in the First Epistle of Peter to the place whence the author writes becomes clear: "The church that is at Babylon, the elect, and Mark, my son, salute you." In the symbolic language so dear to the Jews, the Apostle describes Rome, his place of residence, as Babylon, the city of horrors and confusion. Rome was, indeed, the city where, according to Tacitus, "all the vice and all the shame of the world congregates." This interpretation of the name chosen by Peter is so little new that even the historian, Eusebius, speaks of it as already old, and gives it on the authority of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, a man who, we know, stood actually on the threshold of the apostolic age. The authority of Papias also determined Eusebius to accept another fact, viz., that Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome under the guidance of St. Peter.[2]

Thus it was from the tradition of those who had seen the Apostles, or at least their disciples, that the Roman Church derived the unshaken conviction of her foundation by Peter and of her possession of the Apostle's Tomb, a persuasion which dominated all her thought and feeling during the fourth and fifth centuries. In the very centre of a God-forsaken heathen world—a fact which should fill us with astonishment at the ways chosen by Providence—in the Babylon of moral depravity and mental error, there was the Prince of the Apostles to die, and thence was to go forth the Power of the Almighty to renew the world. The Tomb of Peter was to be as a seed sown in this polluted ground for higher things in the future, whilst Rome's outward position in the world was in God's plans to subserve the development of the Church upon Peter, the Rock. "Blessed Peter, the Prince among all the Apostles," so says Leo the Great to the Roman people, "was sent to this stronghold of the Roman Empire that the Light of Truth, intended for the salvation of all nations upon earth, might more easily spread from the Head of the world throughout the whole body."[3]

[1] The Greek text was published by GRENFELL and HUNT (*Amherst papyri*, 1900); on the passage in question: *καὶ τῶν δώδεκα* [. . .] *ταῖς κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ παραδοθήσεται*, see HARNACK, *Sitzungsberichte Berlin*, Nov. 1, 1900.

[2] 1 *Pet.*, v., 13. TACIT., *Annal.*, 15, c. 44; SENECA, *Ad Marcian.*, c. 20. EUSEB., *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 15 (Papias on Babylon). EUSEB., ibid., VI., c. 14 (Clement of Alexandria on Papias's statements regarding the Gospel of St. Mark).

[3] ST. LEO, *Serm.* 1, *de SS. Apostolis.*

At the beginning of the seventh century a poet was inspired to sing in verse the privilege of the city of Rome, blessed by the death of the two Apostles :—

"O happy Rome, made holy now
By these two martyrs' glorious blood;
Earth's best and fairest cities bow,
By thy superior claims subdued." [1]

187. So prominent a fact as the sojourn of St. Peter in Rome could not fail to leave a mark in the traditions centering round local monuments, even apart from the burial-places, in a Christian community which gratefully acknowledged Peter as its founder. It also happened that genuine traditions of this sort in course of time became mingled with various spurious ones. This was all that could be expected. When once popular devotion has seized upon an object, the historic tradition relating to it must needs be exposed to the risk of distortion. Hence it is in many cases as difficult to sift the claims to a connection with St. Peter urged by several churches in Rome even since earliest mediæval times, as to extract the underlying element of truth concerning St. Peter's work and sufferings in Rome, from the reports of early apocryphal writings. More than once already we have been obliged to describe the legends bearing on these subjects as mythical or incoherent; for instance, the story of St. Peter's struggle with Simon Magus in the Forum, and the tales clustering round the Mamertine Prison.

On the other hand, there are certain features in the traditions of the city, especially in those associated with the monuments, of which we can affirm that they, in some measure, support and confirm the fact, otherwise vouched for, of St. Peter's sojourn in Rome. Particularly is this the case when these features are considered cumulatively. This is, however, not the place to analyse critically each question bearing on the subject; better opportunities will probably present themselves in the course of our work; we may nevertheless mention here some facts on which an argument might be based. Stress has been laid upon the detail that the

[1] "*O felix Roma*," &c., the best-known verse of the hymn, *Decora lux*, in the Roman Office for the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul. CHEVALIER, *Repertorium hymnologicum*, I. (1892), 258. Though the hymn is ascribed to Helpis, the wife of Boethius, the verse in question is wanting in the earliest form of the hymn.

Ostrian Cemetery on the *Via Nomentana* was known during the fifth century by the name of *ad Nymphas S. Petri*, being thought identical with the place where the Apostle was wont to administer baptism. At the same spot in the sixth century a *Cathedra* was exhibited as the quondam throne of the Apostle Peter (*sedes ubi prius sedit sanctus Petrus*);[1] further a festival of the *Cathedra Petri* was kept at the Vatican in the fifth century and even earlier as a feast in honour of St. Peter's Primacy. Moreover, according to an unbroken tradition, the Romans believed that they possessed the actual throne or chair of St. Peter, and continued to use it in the ceremony of the Papal enthronisation.[2] The present church of St. Pudentiana is reputed to stand on the site of the house belonging to the Senator Pudens, who gave shelter to the Apostle during his work.[3] The Aventine, also, prides itself on possessing in the church of St. Prisca the transformed residence of Aquila and Priscilla with whom Peter worked. The constant recurrence of the name of Peter among the early Christians interred in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla, and nowhere else, confirms the legends regarding Peter and St. Prisca, as the Catacomb of St. Priscilla is linked with the memory of Prisca.[4] Finally the preservation of a, to a certain extent, reliable type among the manifold portraits of SS. Peter and Paul, displayed at Rome from very early times, seems to agree well with the fact of the Apostles' sojourn in the city. With regard to this last statement, great store is set on the large antique medal in the Vatican Museum, found upon Roman ground, and commonly assigned to the beginning of the third or end of the second century (Ill. 67, cp. the later conventional type in Ill. 68). It has been pointed out that

[1] The Acts of Pseudo-Marcellus already contain an allusion to the "*ad Nymphas beati Petri ubi baptizabat.*" For the latest work relative to the Ostrian Cemetery, see *Nuovo Bullett. arch. crist.*, 1901. Cp. KRAUS, *Roma sott.* (2nd ed.), p. 72, 544, 576; ARMELLINI, *Cimiteri* (2nd ed.), p. 273 ff. John, the messenger sent by Queen Theodelinda, took from Rome, amongst other things, oil from a lamp in this cemetery, burning before the *Sedes ubi prius sedit sanctus Petrus.* So do we read in the contemporary notice in the treasury at Monza, about which more anon.

[2] For further details upon the *Cathedra* and its festival, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 33 ff. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 5th ed., p. 283. KRAUS, *Roma sott.*, p. 568 ff. KIRCHENLEXIKON (2nd ed.), art. *Cathedra.* KELLNER, *Heortology* (Engl. Trans., p. 301 ff). A. ASHPITEL and A. NESBITT, *Two Memoirs on St. Peter's Chair preserved at Rome:* London, 1870.

[3] DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1867, p. 46 ff., and *Musaici*, fasc. 13–14, upon the local traditions of Pudens and his basilica; see, too, DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 133, and ibid., p. 517, note 45 (upon the *Titulus S. Priscae*).

[4] On the Catacomb of Priscilla, see DE ROSSI, ibid., 1884, p. 77 ff. ARMELLINI, *Cimiteri*, 2nd ed., p. 224 ff.

no other city was able to preserve such traditional portraits of the two chief Apostles.[1]

Even though we be disposed to minimise the importance of these historical and traditional data, and though the contents of such traditions stand in much need of criticism, yet with regard to their cumulative value, we must make our own the words of the Roman archæologist, de Rossi, on St. Peter's sojourn in Rome: The striking harmony so repeatedly evinced between history and the language of the monuments cannot here be mere coincidence; it is rather a guarantee for the truth both of the monuments and of history.[2]

188. Special stress was rightly laid by de Rossi upon a monumental testimony to Peter and Paul, not alluded to in the list just given. In early days a certain hallowed spot was revered, where, according to tradition, the bodies of Peter and Paul lay hidden for a period before the time of Constantine; this was the shrine termed *Platonia*, on the Appian Way *ad catacumbas;* on it now stands the church of St. Sebastian.

The Roman so-called Philocalian calendar of the feasts, of the year 366, already mentions, under June 29, *i.e.* on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the "station" which was made both here and at the Vatican, and also on the *Via Ostia*. A canticle of the fourth century likewise hymns the praise of a feast celebrated here as well as at the other two churches. We also possess the text of the metrical inscription placed by Pope Damasus in this venerated and famous early sepulchre of the Apostles on the Appian Way. It proclaims to the visitor that Peter and Paul once rested here in their tombs, watched over by the Romans as fellow-citizens. Damasus himself built the church which preserved this venerable memorial. Originally it was the church, not of St. Sebastian, but "of the Apostles," its name being evidently derived from the two tombs here preserved. Probably the double tomb of the two chief Apostles was situated in the middle of the Damasian Basilica, and not in the adjacent chamber or mortuary chapel, which a relatively much later tradition points out as the site of the tomb.[3]

[1] DE ROSSI, ibid., 1864, p. 81; 1887, Pl. 10. ARMELLINI, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1888, p. 130 ff. KRAUS, *Roma sott.*, p. 335 ff. [2] *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1864, p. 81.

[3] On the temporary resting-place of the Apostles *ad Catacumbas* on the Appian, see DE WAAL, *Die Apostelgruft ad Catacumbas, eine historisch-archäologische Untersuchung auf Grund der neuesten Ausgrabungen* (1894); also my articles in the *Civiltà cattol.*, 1894,

Ill. 67.—Peter and Paul.
(The oldest Bronze Medal of the Apostles at the Vatican.)

Ill. 68.—Peter and Paul.
(From a Bronze Medal at the Vatican.)

Ill. 69.—Peter delivering the Flag to the Senator Vrbis.
(From a mediæval coin of the Roman Senate.)

Early in the sixth century legend had already woven its myths around this solemn site, as we see from the writings of Gregory the Great, where we are told of the attempt made by certain messengers from the East to steal the Apostles' remains. This does not, however, detract from the truth underlying the authentic tradition, but on the whole it is best to take this tradition in its broad outlines, as it existed previously, and not to seek when and why and how long the bodies of the Apostles were concealed in this place by pressing a doubtful passage of St. Gregory's.[1]

Still more careful must we be in dealing with the apocryphal writings which speak of the work of the Apostles at Rome. Not indeed that we should reject them as utterly worthless, seeing that some of them can occasionally be of use, and in fact have furnished us with certain local data regarding the tomb and place of martyrdom of St. Peter; only on account of such topography as they convey shall we avail ourselves of them here. Such information was never easy to invent; on the contrary, what was invented must usually be explained by some definite local tradition.

189. Among the local indications furnished by apocryphal writings we very early hear of a terebinth beside which Peter was buried. This great tree, serving as a landmark for the grave, is first mentioned by Pseudo-Marcellus, who made certain additions in the fourth century to the apocryphal "Acts" of Peter written by Pseudo-Linus, and retains a place in most subsequent accounts. It is certainly significant that Pliny, in his *Natural History*, mentions as a curiosity of this very neighbourhood an enormous oak of exceptional size and beauty. It would seem but natural to suppose, and some have gone as far as to affirm, that Pliny's tree was identical with that beside St. Peter's grave. In the Middle Ages the tradition of the terebinth underwent a curious transformation. The lofty pagan sepulchral monument in the Vatican quarter, which even in the *Mirabilia* was still called *Tyburtinum Neronis*, was re-named *Terebinthus Neronis*, the traditional tree thus becoming a stone monument. It was then

2, 460 ff., and in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1895, p. 409, 461. Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, Introduction, p. civ. Damasus's inscription: "*Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes | Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris. . . . | Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives*," &c., in DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones christ.*, 2, 1, 32, and IHM, *Damasi Epigrammata* (1895), p. 31. The so-called *Platonia*, situated at the back of San Sebastiano, until recently thought to be the tomb in question, seems more likely to be the Mausoleum of St. Quirinus.

[1] GREG. M., *Registr.*, 4, No. 30: *Constantinae Augustae;* JAFFÉ, 2nd ed., No. 1302.

thought, though erroneously, that this memorial had been associated by the ancients with the martyrdom and death of Peter, whence we find it figuring in pictures of Peter's martyrdom, though in reality this was enacted at a considerable distance from the monument.[1]

Another interesting note in the apocryphal accounts informs us that Peter's martyrdom and burial occurred "at the place which is called the Naumachia, near the obelisk of Nero on the Hill." This statement may be regarded as accurate and to the point, for as we know an obelisk did stand in the middle of the Neronian Circus, or Naumachia, whilst the hill can be none other than the Vatican.[2]

According to the traditional topography of the Middle Ages, Peter was executed *inter duas metas, i.e.* between the two end pillars of the circus; or in other words, on the *spina*, which ran down the middle. So surprisingly exact a localisation may possibly be correct, and at least there is nothing to say against it. As it has been definitely accepted that Peter was crucified upon the Vatican Hill, in the Circus of Nero, his martyrdom might well have taken place upon the centre of the *spina*. Hence it is quite possible that the obelisk which once stood in the middle of the *spina*, and which has survived so many eventful centuries, may also have been a dumb witness of the bloody end of that Apostle, the forecourt of whose basilica it was itself later to adorn. During the Middle Ages there was an oratory in the middle of the circus at the foot of the obelisk, commemorating the martyrdom of Peter. The tiny church existed up to the time of Innocent III., when it disappeared. In the modern St. Peter's —on the spot nearest to its site in the circus, *i.e.* in the southern transept—there is an Altar to the Crucifixion of Peter, which may be considered the descendant of that oratory and its memory.[3]

[1] According to Pseudo-Marcellus, Peter was buried in the Naumachia immediately after his execution, "*sub terebinthum iuxta naumachiam, in locum qui appellatur vaticanus.*" Editions of Pseudo-Marcellus have been brought out by FIORENTINI (*Vetustius Martyrologium*), by TISCHENDORF, and specially by STUDEMUND and LIPSIUS. Cp. LIPSIUS, *Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1, 304, 391, 400. PLINY, *Hist. Nat.*, 17, c. 44. For the identification of the oak tree here mentioned with the terebinth, see ERBES, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 7 (1884–1885), 12, and LIPSIUS, 2, 1, 391. On the *terebinthus Neronis*, see ante, p. 272, and DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones urbis Romae*, 2, 1, p. 220, n. 105.

[2] See the *Passio Petri* by Pseudo-Linus, a work reaching back no further than the fourth century, in LIPSIUS, *Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1, 400; or in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Lugdun., 2, 67 ff.

[3] The information concerning the early oratory of St. Peter was given me privately by de Rossi, though he did not mention whence he had obtained it. Early writers on

According to what has gone before, Peter's grave would be quite near to his place of crucifixion. That the martyrdom took place inside the circus is confirmed by statements other than those derived from apocryphal works. The author of the *Liber pontificalis* (*c.* 530) is particularly clear in expressing the conviction of his time, viz., that Peter was martyred "*iuxta palatium Neronianum in vaticanum*" [*sic*]; and, again, "*in montem aureum in vaticanum palatii Neroniani.*" The Palace of Nero, according to the language of the time, is the Circus of Nero, and the Golden Hill (*mons aureus*) was the name bestowed on the Vatican Hill, on account of its golden sand.[1]

So far we have dealt only with the primitive form of the tradition. In the course of time this tradition, in its bearing on the place of Peter's crucifixion, was variously emended. A few words must therefore be said of these alterations.

In the Middle Ages the memory of the Naumachia in the Vatican region was preserved. The building even appears to have been still in existence at a time when the Circus of Nero had already entirely changed its aspect. The custom which then arose of speaking of a large portion of the Leonine city, even as far away as the Castle of Sant' Angelo, as the Naumachia, led, however, to the site of the Apostle's martyrdom, which, according to the old accounts, took place in the Naumachia, being transferred to this part of the city. As the term Obelisk of Nero, which had also served to indicate the place, had also fallen into desuetude—the real obelisk being now known as *columna maior* or *agulia* (needle)—it came about that a new tradition was formed, according to which St. Peter had been crucified near a lofty monument in the neighbourhood of Sta. Maria Traspontina, the monument being none other than the pagan tomb described on p. 272. The ignorance of the period accounts for its being described in the *Mirabilia* as *Terebinthus* or *Tyburtinum Neronis;* in the *Ordo* of Benedictus Canonicus it makes its appearance as *Obeliscus Neronis.*[2]

Not far from St. Peter's there stood the *Meta Romuli*, a pagan

St. Peter's say nothing of the Altar of the Crucifixion, probably because they were mostly under the influence of the mediæval tradition which located the martyrdom near S. Maria Traspontina, between the two pagan tombs, *inter duas metas.*

[1] *Liber pont.*, I, 118, *Petrus*, No. 1: "*Sepultus iuxta locum ubi crucifixus est, iuxta palatium neronianum in vaticanum.*" Ibid., 1, 150, *Cornelius*, No. 22: "*in montem aureum in vaticanum palatii Neroniani.*" Ed. MOMMSEN, p. 4, 29.

[2] *Lib. pont.*, I, p. 150, *Cornelius*, No. 22 (ed. MOMMSEN, p. 29).

memorial in the shape of a pyramid. For a time it was believed that Peter had been crucified between this tomb, or *meta*, and the other just alluded to, *inter duas metas*. This mistaken notion prevailed from the twelfth to at least the fourteenth century.[1]

Another ancient and much-used guide, the *Liber pontificalis*, adduced, among other topographical data whereby to identify the spot where Peter died, a certain *Mons aureus*, or golden mount. This name was responsible for a new change in the tradition. On the Janiculus there was an Oratory of St. Peter, of which the existence can be traced back as far as the pontificate of Gregory X. (1272–1276). As in the course of time the name of *Mons aureus* (Montorio) came to be used more and more exclusively of the Janiculus, this oratory soon began to claim the honour of marking the spot of Peter's martyrdom. Its splendid situation overlooking the city, and the powerful patronage of the kings of Spain, into whose possession it came, after having been for a while in the hands of the Franciscans, helped to substantiate its claim. Even at the present day the Roman populace is still convinced that it was there, in the full sight of all Rome, that the Apostle consummated his sacrifice. In spite of this, not even the classic grace of Bramante's construction near the restored church will avail to preserve to this spot the associations which it has usurped.

At the very time when the latter opinion was predominant, it was assailed by scholars, though a few did, in fact, endeavour to show that at least something could be urged on its behalf. Maffeus Vegius or Vegio, the humanist (1406–1457), though personally attached to the tradition of the Vatican martyrdom, was willing to allow that both expressions, *Mons aureus* and *inter duas metas*, could be applied to the Janiculus and its oratory. The two *metae*, he argued, might well designate the *meta Romuli*, in the Leonine quarter, and the *meta Remi* near the Ostian Gate, a straight line from one to the other passing directly over the Janiculus.[2]

Not long after Vegio another scholar, Flavio Biondo, in his *Roma restaurata*, whilst favouring to some extent the claim of the Vatican, adds: "It is commonly said that Peter died at the tere-

[1] *Patr. lat.*, LXXVIII., 1032, No. 16; 1045, No. 50. The papal procession, so we are told, reaches the "*castellum Adriani; proficiscens ante obeliscum Neronis intrat per porticum iuxta sepulchrum Romuli, ascendit ad Vaticanum.*"

[2] In the twelfth century Petrus Mallius seemed to have no doubt about the tomb called *Terebinthus*: "*Iuxta hoc aedificium crucifixus fuit beatus Petrus.*" *De basil. Vatic.* in DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 220, No. 105. Maffeus Vegius in *Acta SS.*, XXIX., Junii, p. 63*.

binth between the two *metae*, though it is difficult to say where this spot was."[1] On the other hand, Pietro Alfarano, in his manuscript notes now in the archives of the Basilica of St. Peter's (Cod. 5G), brings forward excellent arguments against the Janiculus. He alleges as his authority Giulio Ercolano, who not long before his time had examined the antiquities of the Vatican Basilica. Both refer the words *inter duas metas* to the two *metae* of the Circus of Nero, *i.e.* to the two high posts at either end of the *spina* around which the chariots had to run, and which in antiquity, though not in the Middle Ages, were actually termed *metae*. Panvinio and Bosio also adopted this view, though Baronius, here as on other occasions, allowed himself to be influenced by the views prevailing in his own day, and gave his assent to the claim of the Janiculus, under the mistaken impression that he was thereby proving his conservatism. Such was the weight of Baronius's opinion that for long afterwards no one ventured on a protest; even one so well versed in Roman matters as Giovanni Severano was unwilling to call into question directly the authenticity of the site on the Janiculus. At the same time Severano, better acquainted with the authorities which could be urged on behalf of the Vatican, leaves it to his readers to choose for themselves which of the two sites they please.[2]

Among other yet later writers, Filippo Lorenzo Dionisi, in his trustworthy work on the antiquities of St. Peter's, did his best to restore to its position the older tradition, and brought forward in its defence many names and arguments.[3]

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190. In spite of all the obscurity due to legendary accretions and alterations the existence of St. Peter's Tomb in Rome remains incontrovertible, thanks to the early testimonies.

For some time nevertheless this tradition was opposed by a school which was an outgrowth of Protestantism. **Gregorovius**

[1] *Roma restaurata*, 1, 45: "Essendo un commune grido, ch' egli (S. Pietro) fu morto al terebinto fra le due mete, non si può questo luogo qual fosse sapersi."

[2] *Sette chiese*, p. 19.

[3] *De cryptis vaticanis*, ed. SARTI, p. 194 ff. The new writings of Mgr. J. B. LUGARI in favour of the Vatican site (*Le lieu du crucifiement*, 1898; *Il Gianicolo, luogo*, &c. 1900) do not appear to me to carry conviction. DUCHESNE, on the other hand, has well traced the course of the old tradition in his work *Vaticana*, as likewise has done MARUCCHI, *Basiliques*, p. 461 ff. The latter has the especial merit of having rehabilitated the older witnesses and the tradition for which they stand, and of having set them against the novelties which can only prove detrimental to true tradition.

borrows its language when, in his *History of the City of Rome*, he says: "History knows nothing of the presence at Rome of the Apostle Peter," and when he goes so far as to speak of St. Peter as the "legendary founder of the Roman Church."[1]

Every one knows the result of the most far-reaching recent effort of negative criticism against the Roman tradition. Adalbert Lipsius, following the course of Baur and the Tübingen school, did his best to deduce from the ancient Petrine apocrypha and from the legendary development of tradition, the conclusion that the whole story of Peter was a myth. Lipsius, with singular obstinacy, and relying far more on fancy than on his learning or clear-sightedness, sacrificed a life of literary effort to this object. Yet his criticism was blunted by the rock which it assailed, and even before his death he had the mortification to find himself forsaken by the leaders of his own party.[2]

Lipsius was accustomed, in his controversial writings, to assign a great age to the apocryphal accounts of Peter and Simon Magus, in fact to ascribe them to a date which would have made them more ancient than the witnesses which we called on behalf of the true Petrine tradition. This done, he would insinuate that the evidence for Peter's death at Rome and the whole tradition was based only on inventions. At the present day we can, however, prove that the apocryphal accounts make their first appearance only in the fourth century. The legends do not deserve the honour which Lipsius thrust upon them, by placing them on the same footing as the real sources. "It is hypercriticism with a vengeance," writes Louis Duchesne, "to cite such legendary inventions as 'traditions.'"[3] What, however, settles the matter, as against Lipsius, is that these very fictions themselves assume the sojourn of Peter in Rome as a thing already clearly established. Any unprejudiced person must recognise this in the exactness both of their statements and of their topographical data. So much so indeed that we did not hesitate to cite them, though of course no one who knew them would dare to borrow any actual proof from them. They simply served to embellish for some

[1] GREGOROVIUS, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*[4], I, 172.

[2] LIPSIUS, *Die römische Petrussage*, Kiel, 1872. Ibid., *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1, (1877), e.g. p. 404. The details he gives in the last work on the Apostle's tomb in the Vatican and upon the local Roman traditions, contain a number of inaccuracies which we have implicitly rectified above.

[3] DUCHESNE, *Mélanges de Rossi*, p. 42: "Présenter de tels récits comme des 'traditions,' c'est le comble de l'hypercritique."

theological or edificational purpose a fact already otherwise established.[1]

As scholars are at present tolerably agreed upon the subject we can only rejoice at the historical advantage which has been an indirect result of the hypotheses of Baur and Lipsius. Unless we are much deceived, the time is no longer for such attacks upon the Roman tradition. Ever since the sixteenth century when the denial first took form, it has borne too clearly the stamp of theological prejudice and party feeling. Nowadays there is no scientific ground left for such polemics, and historians, as a general rule, are no longer anxious to continue the controversy.[2]

Had this historical question been always calmly faced, this much would have been seen long before the critical discussion of recent days. If a tomb of Peter existed in Rome, it could never have been forgotten, and, if such a thing never existed, it could never have been invented. The burial of the Apostle within the precincts of the city, the teaching, the traditions, the personal example of the founder and first leader of the Roman Church—these were things which, when once delivered to history, must have continued to live in the Roman Christian community. So long as the new Faith and the new Life retained a place in their

[1] See DUCHESNE'S strictures on Lipsius's system in the *Bulletin critique*, 1887, p. 161 ff. FUNK (*Literarische Rundschau*, 1891, 272), rightly points out that, from the texts which Lipsius himself has collected in the *Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten*, "the probability becomes almost a certainty that Peter was at Rome." This can be seen, he argues, from their agreement, which can only be explained as resting on real history.

[2] To name some recent Protestant authorities, Adolf Harnack, in his *Patres apostolici* (Leipsig, 1876, 1, p. 15), is decidedly in favour of Peter's stay at Rome. He says: "*Lis adhuc sub iudice non esset, nisi critici fabulis illis Pseudo-Clementis vel iudaizantium christianorum plus quam par est auctoritatis tribuerent.*" Among the Protestant historians of the so-called critical school who accept the sojourn of St. Peter at Rome, he mentions Credner, Bleek, Wieseler, Meyer, Hilgenfeld, Delitzsch, Seyerlen, and Mangold. Gieseler had already made the admission: "It was a kind of party cry which led some Protestants, especially Frederick Spanheim, to follow the example of certain mediæval foes of the Papacy . . . and to deny that Peter was ever in Rome (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 3rd ed., Bonn, 1831, 1, p. 92.) In the recent Protestant work, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, by WILHELM MÖLLER (Freiburg im B., 1889), we merely read (p. 79): "The much-debated tradition of Peter's coming to Rome is to be retained." Among foreigners I will only cite the learned Anglican critic, J. B. LIGHTFOOT, in his work, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Part 1, *S. Clement of Rome*, 2nd ed. (1890): Part 2, 1885. In the latter volume, p. 357, he adduces, among others, the previously quoted passages from Ignatius of Antioch, Clement of Rome, &c. He also avails himself, against Lipsius, of the Ebionite MS. "Preaching of Peter" and the other apocryphal writings. On the Catholic side, JOH. SCHMID, more particularly, has endeavoured to throw light on the subject (*Petrus in Rom*, 1892) from various points of view; he has, however, scarcely paid sufficient attention to Roman topography and archæology. From among the crowd of smaller works and articles by Catholic writers we have already made several extracts.

hearts, the knowledge that they sheltered his burial-place in the midst of their city could never die out, seeing that the spirit of Christian worship would never fail to urge them to honour his memory by venerating his tomb. A yet greater impossibility would it have been for the Christians in the capital to have invented the story of St. Peter's death in their midst and burial in the Vatican, and to have imposed this on the credulity of the rest of the world. Rome was no place for such a fraud. The crowded metropolis, with its strenuous public life, was exposed, more than any other township in the Roman world, to the scrutiny, the curiosity, the comments of all the remaining Christian Churches. A baseless claim to the possession of the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles would necessarily have been disputed by others which believed themselves equally favoured. Yet in Christian antiquity not one of the other Churches ever even questioned the Roman tradition. Not one made the slightest effort to establish a counter-claim to this tomb despite all the privileges and honours which were involved in its possession. In all her earlier struggles with schismatics and heretics of every shade, not once was Rome's claim to be the Apostolic See, sanctified by St. Peter and his tomb, called into question.

We conclude these remarks on the worn-out Protestant thesis with a quotation from the *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur* (1897) of the Protestant critic, **Adolf Harnack**: "The martyrdom of St. Peter in Rome was contested first through Protestant prejudice and later through a similar critical prejudice. In both cases the mistake led to the recognition of important historical truths, and has consequently been productive of good. But that it was a mistake is now perfectly clear to every sincere investigator. The whole critical armoury with which Baur attacked the ancient tradition is now rightly regarded as worthless."[1]

191. The Emperor **Constantine** set a seal and a kind of majestic sanction on the tradition of the first three hundred years regarding the tomb of St. Peter, when, at the instigation of Pope

[1] The statements of ERBES, *Petrus nicht in Rom, sondern in Jerusalem gestorben* (*Zeitschr. für KG.*, 22 (1901), p. 1 ff., 161 ff.), rest on a wrong interpretation of the apocryphal Acts of Peter, "to which he too easily gives a confidence which he is unwilling to give to the true historical witnesses," on a similar interpretation of the Syriac Martyrology of 412, and on a fantastic reading of *Matth.* xxiii. 24, cp. KNELLER, *Zeitschr. für kath. Theologie*, 26 (1902), p. 357 ff. The only point in which Erbes scores a success is in showing how general, from the middle of the second century, was the belief in Peter's Roman sojourn.

Silvester, he built the glorious Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles on the site of his entombment.[1] Of this great enterprise the writer of the *Liber pontificalis* relates what still lingered in the recollection of his contemporaries and what he had himself gathered from existing monuments. He writes: "During Silvester's time Constantine Augustus built for Blessed Peter the Basilica beside the Temple of Apollo. He adorned the Tomb of the Blessed Apostle, where his body rests, in the following manner." He then describes the tomb and the inscription dedicated by Constantine, which he knew well. He tells us that Constantine had brought thither a gold cross, weighing 150 lbs., with this inscription in *niello* work: "Constantine Augustus and Helena Augusta adorned this royal house, surrounded by an equally radiant hall (*aula coruscans*)." The little mortuary chamber (*loculus*) was covered over by Constantine, according to this well-informed authority, by an "immovable" covering of bronze. The body itself was left undisturbed in its place.[2]

Over the mortuary chamber the Emperor had a little decorated shrine, or *cella*, or, to use its later name, ark (*arca*), erected. This ark glittered with gold. The "royal house" spoken of in the inscription must refer to this, for it was the special home of the regal saint, to whom the whole basilica, the "radiant hall" of the inscription, was dedicated. The Popes entered the ark on certain days to offer incense. In a similar but smaller chamber above the tomb, which is the present continuation of the early ark, are now deposited the palliums meant for archbishops.[3]

In the centre of the floor of the ark a shaft descended into the actual vault, thus connecting in some sort the ark itself and the basilica with its worshippers with the venerated remains beneath. Down this shaft small objects—strips of fine linen, for instance—

[1] See reconstruction in GUTENSOHN and KNAPP, *Die Basiliken des christl. Roms.* At the bottom of the church may there be seen Constantine's spiral columns, which hide the altar and its baldachin. The illustration, however, omits the *schola cantorum*, the *ambones*, and other details.

[2] *Liber pont.*, 1, 176, No. 38. Cp. DUCHESNE, 1, p. cxlv. ff., on the general credibility of the author's statements, and also my article in the *Analecta romana*, 1, 257 ff., Dissertaz. VI., *Le tombe apostoliche*, for the statements regarding St. Peter's Tomb in particular. In the latter dissertation I have made an attempt to explain (ch. 9) the statements made concerning the *arca* (*domus regalis*) of St. Peter's grave and Constantine's inscription on the cross. According to the MSS. of the *Liber pont.*, the words on the cross ran: CONSTANTINVS AVGVSTVS ET HELENA AVGVSTA HANC DOMVM REGALEM (*auro decorant quam?*) SIMILI FVLGORE CORRVSCANS AVLA CIRCVMDAT. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 200. In the *Analecta romana*, l.c., ch. 10 is occupied with an *Illustrazione del passo del Liber pontificalis per mezzo di altre relazioni.*

[3] *Analecta romana*, l.c.

could be let down, and thereby be blessed by touching the vault. This shaft still exists. The same arrangement may be seen at the tomb of St. Paul on the *Via Ostia*, where it is in even better preservation. The notice in the *Liber pontificalis*, to the effect that Constantine had both tombs built over in the same manner, is corroborated by this resemblance. On the floor of the ark in St. Paul's we may still read the inscription, engraved in large characters of Constantine's period: "To Paul the Apostle and Martyr." In both cases, however, the shaft leading to the lower chamber, at an unknown but certainly remote period, was blocked up to a certain depth with stones and rubbish.[1]

Only one case is recorded of a glimpse into the actual Tomb of St. Peter. This was in 1574, in the course of the raising of the floor-level in the neighbourhood of the Confession. According to an account by Francesco Maria Torrigio, several persons, including Pope Clement VIII., were able to see the "Monumentum" of St. Peter through an accidental or newly discovered opening. Though this communication is reliable, it is so laconic that it does little or nothing to elucidate the brief statements of the *Liber pontificalis*.[2]

To return to the *Liber pontificalis*. The altar which Constantine erected above the ark was furnished with porphyry pillars. These would be the four columns supporting the baldachin, or tabernacle, over the altar (*ciburium*). Other columns, adorned with sculpture representing twining vines, had been procured—such, at least, was the opinion of the sixth century, vouched for by the book in question—"from Greece" by Constantine. These are the spiral columns, still preserved, which

[1] *Analecta romana*, p. 274 on the shaft at St. Peter's, p. 267 on that at St. Paul's, according to my own observations, with illustrations. Ibid., p. 259, on the inscription upon Paul's tomb, PAVLO APOSTOLO MART., with photograph.

[2] *Analecta romana*, p. 297, from BONANNI, *Numismata templi Vaticani*, c. 24, p. 149; Torrigio there names as being present the architect, Giacomo della Porta, and the Cardinals Bellarmin, Antoniano, and Sfondrati. On looking through the opening a "*crux aurea sepulchro imposita*" was seen. Unfortunately the narrative is brought to a sudden close by the Pope ordering "*foramen se coram coementis oppleri*." At this sacred spot religious feeling has always outweighed the interests of science. The cross alluded to certainly agrees with the previous extracts from the *Liber pontificalis*, and the *coementa* with its present condition. From GREGORY I., *Registr.*, 4, No. 30, and other reliable sources one may infer that, in the sixth century, it was believed that the body of Peter was lying about fifteen feet below the floor of the ark—*i.e.* the level of the ancient basilica, which corresponds with the floor of the present Confession. The situation of the tomb was never altered, but it is quite possible that during a period of stress the body may have been buried more deeply, and that the record of this may have failed to come down to us. BARNES, *op. cit.*, p. 231, shows that under the altar of the Confession there are still remains of a Constantinian altar.

from the first had their place in front of the Confession. Odd-looking columns such as these often made their appearance at Rome during the debased period of the late Empire. Constantine had the altar-table itself made of silver, edged with gold, and set with sixty precious stones. Before the ark hung a golden candelabrum (*corona aurea ante corpus*), into the composition of which no less than 35 lbs. of gold had entered. It was adorned with fifty figures of dolphins, probably one beneath each of the fifty burners which it carried. At the four angles of the shrine stood four metal candlesticks richly worked in silver, each weighing 300 lbs. All these details are carefully recorded in the *Liber pontificalis*.

The same work also enlarges on other parts of the decoration, which we here omit, and even mentions the estates in the East and in Egypt which the generous Emperor had bestowed, partly for the maintenance of the lamps perpetually burning in great numbers before Peter's Tomb, partly for building purposes in the basilica, and for the support of its clergy. These lists, with their minute statements, including, for instance, the amount of annual income derived from the various properties, can have been derived from no other source than the archives of the basilica.

192. Here, however, a few other historical facts may follow, which may serve to acquaint us better with the structural details surrounding the far-famed tomb, and throw even clearer light upon the foundation of the Emperor Constantine.

Almost above the tomb sprang the lofty arch of the basilica which closed the nave, and was called the Triumphal Arch. Under Constantine this was adorned with a large mosaic. Until quite recently no one was able to conjecture what the picture represented. Only in 1883 was it identified, through a hitherto neglected description. According to this, as late as the sixteenth century, the main scene upon the arch could still be made out; the figure, namely, of the Emperor Constantine, presenting to our Saviour and the Apostle a model of his newly erected basilica. An inscription in big gold letters contained the explanation of the picture in the following words addressed to Christ: "Since, under Thy Guidance, the world has risen triumphant to the skies, the Victor Constantine raises this *aula* to Thee."[1]

[1] *Analecta*, 1, 70, Dissertaz., III.: *Le iscrizioni cristiane di Roma*, No. 1. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, p. 346. For the mosaic, see FROTHINGHAM, *Revue archéologique*, 1883, I., 68 ff. (based on Cardinal DOMENICO JACOBACCI'S work, *De concilio*, Romae, 1538, p. 783). Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 193.

Moreover, at least up to the ninth century, a dedicatory inscription of almost the same date decorated the inside of the apse. It says of a father (Constantine) and his son (probably Constans) that they had left, in the condition it deserved, the building, that "Seat of Justice, House of Faith, and Hall of Virtue."[1]

Early collectors of inscriptions copied, on the outside, in the front above the portico, certain grateful lines by Constantine, inscribed under his own portrait. From this poetic text, to which little attention has hitherto been paid, we learn that the Emperor had suffered ten months from a severe illness. He had given up all hope, since medicines only made him worse, but at last St. Peter's intercession—of that at least he was convinced—helped him. "O to what honour," exclaims the Emperor, "has Christ raised the Apostle! The life which Christ gave me was again granted me by Peter." The four melodious distichs are perfect in style and bear the classical imprint. It is possible that the Silvester legend about the Emperor's leprosy and its cure on his baptism at Rome had its origin in this inscription.[2]

Ill. 70.—Stamp of Constantine on a Brick in Old St. Peter's.
After Valentini, *La basilica Vaticana*, Tav. 4, No. 9.

Finally, the connection of Constantine with the building of the basilica will be remembered through all time by the clay bricks of which it is built. (Ill. 70). During the demolition of the early apse many such bricks, bearing the stamp of Constantine the Great, were pulled out of the walls. They have been found nowhere else in Rome, and must have been expressly made for the construction of St. Peter's.

[1] *Analecta*, p. 78, No. 2. De Rossi, *Inscr. christ*, 2, 1, 21, 55, 145, 156. Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, 1, 195.

[2] *Analecta*, l.c., p. 117, No. 6. De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 55, 260; cp. p. xxxv. It was "*in fronte super porticum, in imagine Constantini Imperatoris.*"

[3] Gaet. Marini, *Iscrizioni antiche doliari* (*Bibliot. d. accademia di conferenze storico-giuridiche*), 1884, p. 73, No. 146. Ciampini, *De aedificiis Constantini*, p. 30, with illustration. De Rossi, *Inscr. christ.*, 2, 1, 347. Duchesne, *Liber pont.*, 1, cv. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 133. Lipsius (*Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten*, 2, 1, 396), is of opinion that "the oldest Christian testimony which has come down to us regarding this fact [that Constantine erected the two basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul] seems to be the apocryphal *Acta Silvestri*," which he ascribes to the second half of the fifth century. This opinion may be judged from the foregoing. We have no need to rely on the *Acta Silvestri*. Lipsius is also wrong in following Erbes (*Das Alter des Gräber*) in his rejection of the proof founded on the bricks bearing Constantine's stamp.

Regarding the antiquity of solemn public worship at this spot, we must recollect that in the fourth century, June 29, the Feast of the Apostle, was kept here, and on the same day, at the basilica on the *Via Ostia*, was observed the Feast of St. Paul.

We also know that in the fourth century the Vatican was a great place for the poor to assemble, and that they continued to flock thither all through the Middle Ages. Here they hoped to receive alms from pious visitors to the basilica. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, Lampadius, when Prætor, on a certain occasion, had the poor fetched from the Vatican. The plebs had been clamouring with more noise than usual for public games; and to spare expense he decided to dispense money to the needy.[1] This occurrence must have taken place before 354, for by that time Lampadius had long ceased to be Prætor, and was already Prætorian Prefect. The event in question cannot have happened very long after Constantine's time.[2]

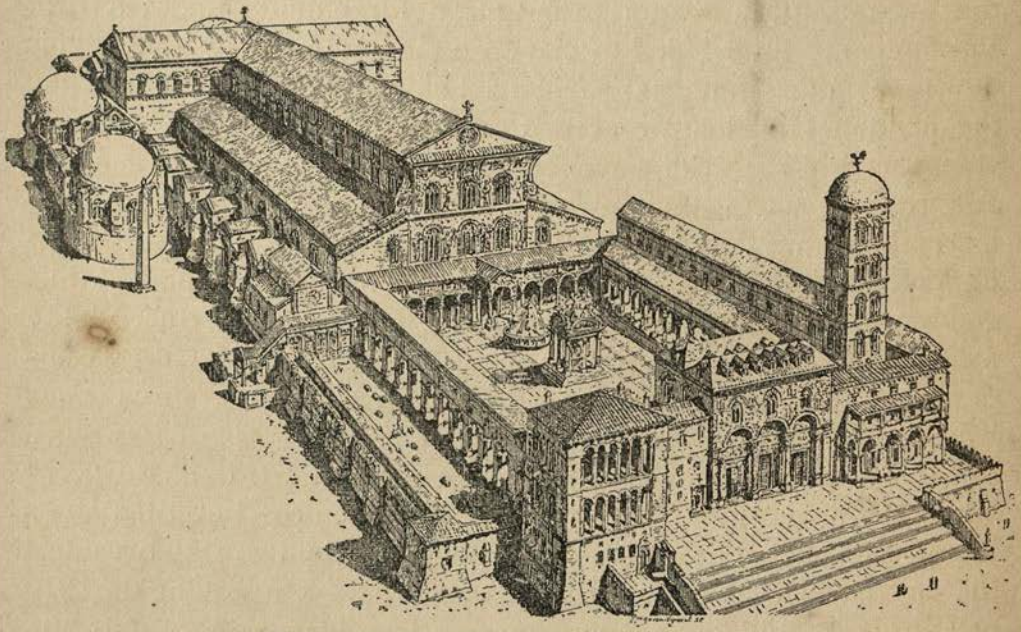
Though a fuller description of this church, built by Constantine for St. Peter, must be reserved for another part of this history, yet we must point out that the *aula* of the Prince of the Apostles was far more spacious than the basilicas erected by Constantine above the shrines of other Roman saints. Its proportions far exceeded those of the sanctuaries of the martyrs St. Lawrence and St. Agnes, and even the earlier church of St. Paul. Except the Lateran, no other of Constantine's structures but St. Peter's had five aisles. These aisles were separated by two stately central rows of pillars, and another row on each side. On leaving the lofty edifice we should have come into the broad square forecourt, the *Atrium* or *Quadriporticus*, later called the *Paradisus*. In the centre bubbled the Cantharus, a fountain like that found in front of all the larger basilicas. A broad flight of steps finally led down outside from the bright and pleasant *Atrium* to the open piazza below.

193. The top of the steps overlooking the *Campus Sancti Petri*, with its view over the Vatican quarter, Hadrian's Mausoleum, and the broad city, is a suitable spot for us to halt a while and recall the reminiscences and impressions which an open-hearted and observant Christian visitor to Rome in those early days would experience, after wandering from the *Campus Lateranensis* to this threshold of St. Peter's. Here in front of the Basilica of St. Peter there was matter enough to excite his loftiest feelings.

[1] xxvii., 3.

[2] DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, cv., cvi.

If he recalled the glories of the Forum through which he had just passed, he could well say to himself that the most stirring and impressive theatre of the world's history lay no longer amidst those crumbling temples, but in the Vatican region and especially at St. Peter's. If he dwelt upon the splendour of the Coliseum and the other once frequented haunts of pleasure and of luxury—the circus, the theatres, the baths—it would be borne in on him that the world had grown wiser through the preaching of an apostle, crucified like his master. At his basilica what was taught was something very different from the wild pleasures of



Ill. 71.—St. Peter's in the Middle Ages.[1]

the Coliseum. Here, to St. Peter's Tomb, how many preachers of the Faith and missioners to distant lands came to seek strength in fervent prayer for their future efforts and sacrifices, and then departed to teach others how the restless, erring heart of man can find true happiness and everlasting joys. Casting his eyes at the burial-place of that great world-ruler, Hadrian, could he fail to make a comparison, like so many of his contemporaries, between the honoured tomb of the simple fisherman, now a world-famed sanctuary, and the grand mausoleum of the Emperor, now neglected and desecrated?

[1] The illustration is from Crostarosa, *Le basiliche*, p. 33; cp. Kraus, *Gesch. de christl. Kunst*, I, 324. Brewer, who was the first to give this picture, *The Builder*, rightly made the campanile to end in a pointed steeple; the cupola is due to Mgr. Crostarosa.

And yet he could never have guessed how greatly the fame of the Tomb of Peter was yet to increase in centuries to come. This chosen spot of the earth, the goal of thousands of faithful, fervent souls, subjects of the far-stretching Roman Empire, members of the rough newly converted tribes, this pride of ancient Rome, now bent before the Cross, this stronghold of the Papacy, soon to replace with its spiritual supremacy over the world the quondam material supremacy of the Emperors, this holy resting-place of Peter, became during the centuries of the Middle Ages the true pivot of the history of the world. The spectacle meeting one in the Vatican quarter in the fifth century, and even in the time of Prudentius, on the Feast of the Apostle, the mass of enthusiastic devotees, both strangers and Romans, surging to the threshold of the lowly fisherman, was but a foretaste of what was to come, when the whole world would be drawn to Peter, to his doctrine, and to his successors, an impulse which made itself felt with incredible force during the Middle Ages, and, in spite of all the difficulties attendant on a long journey, sent forth out of their country crowds of people to lament their sins or give thanks for their deliverance at the Tomb of St. Peter. Prudentius, who describes the hubbub on the day of the feast, does so in words which apply also to the future. "All are crowding to one place of Jubilee in denser throngs than ever; tell me then, my friend, whence comes it that Rome's streets are so thronged with hurrying, happy crowds? Because to-day recalls the triumph of the Apostle; the day which was ennobled by the glorious Blood of Peter and of Paul." Prudentius of set purpose, in another passage, puts into the mouth of the Roman martyr-deacon, Lawrence, words which express the grand hopes of a future: "Grant, O Christ, unto Thy Romans that their city may prove of service to the Religion which creates unity of minds and unity in sacrifice. Behold, all members join together in unity, the universe bows down before the Law of Faith. The two Princes of the Apostles have here established their government. One summons the Gentiles, the other has received the *Cathedra*, and, as the chief, he opens the portals of Eternity committed to his guard."[1]

[1] *Peristephanon*, II., 433 ff. (*P. L.*, LX., 322 ff.); v., 461–466 (ed. DRESSEL):

"*Hic nempe iam regnant duo*
Apostolorum principes.
Alter vocator gentium,
Alter cathedram possidens
Primus recludit creditas
Æternitatis ianuas."

CHAPTER VI

THE BISHOPS OF ROME DOWN TO THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE

The Roman Primacy during the First Centuries

194. THE Apostle Peter had founded his See in the metropolis of the Empire, that he might there create a succession, as willed by Christ, in the high office which he himself held.[1]

The mission of the first among the apostles and of his successors in office is expressed by the short pregnant charge of the Divine Founder of the Church: "Feed my lambs; feed my sheep." Peter, the humble fisherman, endued with a heavenly dignity, was made leader of the Church to secure its oneness. Those to whose care his own small Roman flock was afterwards transmitted, the Bishops of Rome, however modest their place may be in public history, and however small their prominence in early days, undertook this same task of maintaining the unity of the Christian Church, and of watching over the whole work Christ left behind Him. The highest spiritual power is laid in their hands. The bishopric of the Roman city and the primacy of the whole Church are indissolubly united. The kingdom of the Church visible willed by Christ, the unity of all believers in one faith and one worship necessarily required one Head, that the whole organisation might not be upset in the turmoil of a windy day. Christ's words of promise for all time applied as much to the Bishops of Rome as to Peter: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Not less those other words regarding the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, which our Saviour gave into the hands of Peter, with the general power of binding and of loosing—words known and harkened to through all ages, and everywhere repeated by pious tongues, where the good news of the Gospel has been able to penetrate.

[1] Cp. C. A. KNELLER, *Petrus, Bischof von Rom, Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 26 (1902), pp. 33 ff., 225 ff. [SEGNA], *De successione primorum roman. pontificum* (Romae, 1897).

It was not, however, to be expected that the Primacy should appear at once in the history of the Church in its full outward development.

The Church was subject to the law of gradual growth, and only in the course of time did she bring to perfection the powers which had been entrusted to her. Even the Primacy was subject to this law, which rules all things living and organic here on earth, whether of the natural or the supernatural order.[1]

In the office of the Bishop of Rome and successor of St. Peter, the germ was already present of that perfect development to which in later times their spiritual jurisdiction over the Church would attain. There were then, however, no set forms to define clearly their powers in detail. No human foresight could devise a scheme or system which should exhaust the Church's infinite capacity for expansion and government. The Roman Bishops themselves were cautious in interfering or exercising their authority and usually adapted their actions to the circumstances in which they found themselves, *i.e.* intervening only when this was necessary to preserve the unity of the Church, or to uphold the faith committed to them, or the moral law. The preceding statements explain why the sovereign power of the Popes in earlier times was far less apparent than later. So far from being surprising, this state of things was in keeping with the Church's supernatural guidance by her Divine Founder. When He said: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world," He had in fact so ordered things that, to begin with, only the broad foundation lines of God's kingdom should be laid upon earth, its detailed structure and the manifestation of the plenitude of its powers being left to the future. His promise was a guarantee that the coming development of church organisation would be at variance in no essential point with the rules He had Himself instituted. A development of the hierarchy and of the Primacy is thus a fact, but it was a development like that of the doctrines of faith—from within outwards—just as the oak grows up from a tiny root, till it attains the status of a mighty tree bidding defiance to the storms of ages.

The spiritual Primacy had arrived at such a state of development and maturity at least by the fourth century, at the epoch of the great Arian struggle. Roman Bishops of high intellectual

[1] Cp. DÖLLINGER, *Kirche und Kirchen* (München, 1861), p. 31 ff.

standing, like Julius and Damasus, stood forth then, in the view of all, as champions of unity against both East and West.

By counsel, warning, and command, by preaching and penalty, they fought against heresy, defended the faithful members of the Church, and, when necessary, opposed the encroachments of the State with assurance and energy. The spiritual side of mediæval Papal power had therefore been already made evident and all that lacked was temporal grandeur, and that political influence which was a result of its later growth. The condition of the Primacy in the fourth century will occupy us later on; our present task will be to trace its earlier exercise. It would be a great mistake to imagine that before the rise of Arianism the Primacy had no occasion to make itself felt. On the contrary, there can be no doubt for the historian that, even then, the Bishops of Rome were firmly persuaded of their spiritual pre-eminence, and that this supremacy was recognised by the Church and its leading bishops. A brief glance at the history of the gradual establishment of the spiritual supremacy of Rome will suffice to show this.

195. Already in the first century, during the first generation after our Lord, we are face to face with the pre-eminence of the Roman Church.

When, about the year 94, news came to Rome that the Church of Corinth was torn by internal dissensions, it was admonished by **Clement**, Bishop of Rome, in an admirable epistle which we still possess, to keep the peace. Irenæus of Lyons speaks of this letter as a "powerful word" which brought back the faithful to unity. The author of the epistle not only admonishes and teaches, but commands and threatens, with a full consciousness of his jurisdiction. He reminds those who had formed an opposition against their spiritual pastors that spiritual authority in the Churches was a Divine institution. He points to the Old Testament, and shows how the Church adopted an organisation handed down by tradition. For this reason in the New Covenant the community had its High Priests, its priests and its Levites (*i.e.* bishops, priests, and deacons), of whom, according to him, only the High Priest is a true superior. To him he imperatively commands the refractory to be subject. The Apostles had (so he says) lost no time in appointing their first converts "to be Bishops and Deacons over future believers." "They further," he says, "gave order that when these [bishops and deacons] fell asleep,

other well-tried men should receive their office." Here we have evidence of the existence of an episcopacy in the Church and of the organisation of an hierarchy, which clearly corroborates what we read in the canonical books of the New Testament.[1]

Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of the Apostles, in a letter which he addressed to the Roman Church, bestows on it the title "President of the Society of Love"; that is, head of all the brethren united in charity throughout the world.[2]

Another disciple of the Apostles, **Polycarp** of Smyrna, came to Rome and informed the then bishop, Anicetus, that the Churches of Asia Minor followed, in the reckoning of Easter, a practice different from that introduced by the Apostles at Rome. In the course of the same discussion Bishop **Victor**, towards the end of the second century, gave orders for synods to be convened everywhere. In consequence they were held throughout the Church, from Gaul to Pontus and Osrhoene. Then Victor issued a command to the Bishops of Asia Minor to accept, on pain of excommunication, the Roman practice. Irenæus of Lyons, whilst objecting to the harshness of the latter measure, fully acknowledged the Pope's right to intervene, and ultimately the Roman practice came to prevail even in the East.[3]

To **Irenæus**, the Gallic bishop and martyr, was the famous declaration due, that with the Church of Rome "on account of its more distinguished origin [or situation] believers throughout

[1] CLEM. ROM., *Ep. ad Corinth.*, c. 40, 42, on the Hierarchy. The end of the epistle, published for the first time in 1875 by the Metropolitan Bryennios, completes the evidence for the Primacy. Cp. BICKELL, *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 1 (1877), 309 ff. ADOLF HARNACK remarks on the new text of St. Clement, in his edition of the same epistle (1876, in collaboration with O. GEBHARDT): "*Haec vox gravis neque opinata; ecclesia Romana nequaquam a Corinthiis advocata (?) iurisdictionem quandam sibi arrogat.*" And previously: "*Ecce quanta auctoritate hic Roma locuta sit.*" On the letter, see IRENÆUS, *Adv. haer.*, 3, c. 3. BARDENHEWER, *Patrologie* (1895), p. 42 ff. (Engl. Trans. 1909). A. HARNACK (*Chronologie der altchristl. Literatur*, 1, 255) fixes the date of the epistle at circa 93 to 95.

[2] *Ep. ad Romanos*, addressed to the Church which is προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης. These words were happily paraphrased by FUNK, in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers: "*quae praesidet universae ecclesiae idque Romae ubi habitat.*" Cp. BARDENHEWER, 62. On the earliest forms of church government, cp. BRUDERS, *Die Verfassung der Kirche von den ersten Jahrz. bis* 175 (*Forschungen zur altchristl. Literatur- und Dogmengesch.*, 4, 1–2, Mainz, 1904). He rightly gives 175 as the date when the episcopal office can be proved to have been in existence in its definitive form.

[3] On Polycarp, see EUSEB., *H.E.*, IV., c. 14; V., c. 24. On Victor, ibid. V., c. 23–25, and in *Vita Constantini*, 3, c. 5, 18 ff. According to SCHWEGLER (*Nach-apostolisches Zeitalter*, 2, 214), "all factors of the Papacy were united under Victor's episcopacy." A. Harnack, among other reasons, relies on this assertion of Papal power by Victor to ascribe to him the authorship of the work *De aleatoribus*, in which the anonymous writer speaks of the supreme spiritual power which he wields. HARNACK, *Der pseudo-cyprianische Tractat De aleatoribus* (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, 5, 1 (1888), 111).

the world must agree, since in it apostolic tradition has been preserved inviolate." According to this Father, the tradition of this "most great and glorious Church, founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul," is alone sufficient to confute all teachers of error. This is why he and other apologists not seldom drew up careful lists of the Bishops of Rome from Peter down to their own day, on the basis of the official church archives. All these bishops, according to them, exercise the same authority as Peter.[1]

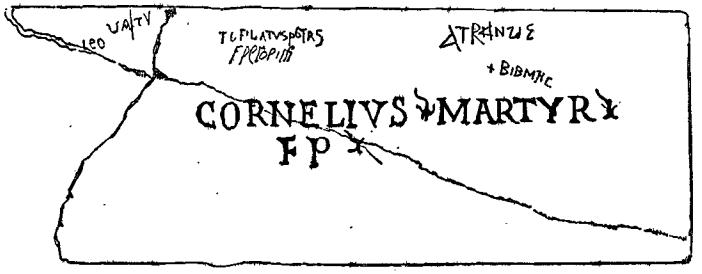
Just as secular corporations, according to Roman custom, kept their *fasti—i.e.* lists of their officials—so the different Churches, and especially that of Rome, had their *fasti episcoporum*, of which remnants are found in the catalogues of the Popes after Hippolytus, and in the statements of the *Liber pontificalis*. They gave the birthplace and the date of the consecration and of the demise of the earliest Popes, as well as the length of the vacancy in months and days, all in perfectly regular form. All sees are prone to attach great weight to this legal attestation of their succession, were it only in order to preserve intact their rights and claims. An unknown Bishop of Rome, who in the third, if not indeed towards the end of the second, century, issued a circular letter against the immorality of dice-playing, expressly claims power to issue such general enactments, ascribing to St. Peter the foundation of the Roman *cathedra*, which is itself the 'origin of all genuine apostolate.'[2]

Cyprian is a writer to whom particular attention must be paid

[1] IRENÆUS, *Adv. haer.*, 3, c. 3, No. 2: "*Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorem (al. potiorem) principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam.* See HERGENRÖTHER, *Kath. Kirche und christlicher Staat* (1872), p. 948 ff.; CHAPMAN, *Revue Bénéd.*, 1895, p. 49 ff. It is rightly believed that in Greek the *potentior principalitas* was expressed by δυνατώτερα πρώτεια, which in the main coincides with the favoured origin and foundation by the Prince of the Apostles. DUCHESNE (*Churches separated from Rome*, Eng. Trans., 1907, p. 81) thus expresses his judgment on the passage from Irenæus: "It would be difficult to meet with a clearer assertion, (1) Of unity of doctrine in the universal Church; (2) Of the sole sovereign importance of the Church of Rome as witness, guardian, and organ of the apostolic tradition; (3) Of her superior pre-eminence over the whole of Christianity." Irenæus's list of Popes is preserved in the Greek text by EUSEB., V., c. 6. Cp. IRENÆUS, *Adv. haer.*, 2, c. 31. It goes down to Eleutherus. This is elsewhere again given by Eusebius, and brought down to Xystus I. (EUSEB., V., c. 24). For these lists, as well as for the older one of Hegesippus and the subsequent Papal catalogues of Hippolytus, Eusebius, and the Chronographer of 354 (*Catalogus liberianus*), see DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, p. 1 ff., and MOMMSEN, *Liber pont.*, p. xxviii. ff.

[2] While Harnack ascribes to Pope Victor this so far little-noticed pamphlet (included among the doubtful writings of Cyprian), others prefer to date it, on account of its reminiscences of Cyprian, in the second half of the third or the beginning of the fourth century. HILGENFELD, a Protestant, in his edition of it, lays stress on the consciousness which its author evinces of being the universal bishop. There can, indeed, be no doubt that, in the first chapter, the anonymous author claims the privileges of a Pope: "*In*

by one who would study the history of the Primacy in early Christian times. In the language of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, the See of Fabian, Bishop of Rome (236–250), is simply the chair of Peter, from whom its occupant derives his power by succession. Communion with the Roman Bishop Cornelius (251–253), Fabian's successor, is again described by Cyprian quite simply as communion with the Catholic Church. According to this African church writer, who, like Cornelius, died a martyr's death for the Gospel, the Church of Rome stands forth as "the Chief Church, whence the Unity of the Priesthood takes its rise"; the "foster-mother and root of the Catholic Church." "It was founded," still



Ill. 72.—Epitaph of Pope Cornelius in the Catacomb of Callistus.

according to Cyprian, "by Christ upon Peter, for the sake of oneness." "The Faith of the Romans," he says in yet another passage, "is praised by the Apostle (Paul), and among them no corruption of the Faith can find access."[1]

It is a matter of common knowledge how Stephen (254–257), another Bishop of Rome, was obliged to defend a point of doctrine against Cyprian's African countrymen, and even against Cyprian's own involuntary error, that, namely, of the validity of heretical

nobis divina et paterna pietas apostolatus ducatum contulit et vicarium Domini sedem caelesti dignatione ordinavit, et originem authentici apostolatus, super quem Christus fundavit ecclesiam, in superiore nostro portamus. Cp. P. v. Hoensbroech, *Die Schrift De aleatoribus, Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 14 (1890), 1 ff. The most recent attempt to restore the list of the Roman Bishops of antiquity is made by Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristl. Literatur*, 1, 144, 202. Cp. also (Cardinal F. Segna), *De successione primorum Romanorum Pontificum*, Romae, 1897.

[1] "*Fabiani id est Petri locus*," *Ep.* 55, c. 8, p. 630, ed. Hartel. On Cornelius, ibid., c. 1, 624. "*Ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est*": *Ep.* 59, c. 4, p. 683. "*Radix et matrix ecclesiae*": *Ep.* 48, c. 3, p. 607. "*A Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata*": *Ep.* 70, c. 3, p. 769. "*Quorum (Romanorum) fides apostolo praedicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum*": *Ep.* 59, c. 14, p. 683. The epitaph of Pope Cornelius is from de Rossi, *Roma sott.*, 1, tav. 4. The reader will notice the names scratched on the slab by olden visitors. The crypt in which this epitaph stands figures in our Vol. III., Ill. 202.

baptisms and of their non-iteration. But it was just this dispute concerning baptism which made manifest the importance of Rome, and the general consciousness of the divinely appointed pre-eminence of this Church.[1]

196. To ensure the purity of its own doctrine, the East frequently turned to Rome during that same period. For instance, under Stephen's second successor, Dionysius (259–268), the Alexandrians began to harbour doubts respecting the orthodoxy of their learned bishop—also named Dionysius—in his views on the Trinity. The latter was obliged to exonerate himself at Rome, and, in an admirable epistle, the Pope at once laid down the rules as to the manner in which the Trinitarian doctrine was henceforth to be presented. The exposition of Dionysius of Rome excels by its depth and lucidity, and was of a nature to cut away the ground beforehand from beneath the great Arian heresy.[2]

The question of the Trinity, during the course of the second and third centuries, was over and over again to furnish the Church of Rome with the opportunity for defending the traditional doctrine. She had to maintain the just mean between a falsely exaggerated distinction and an equally exaggerated union of the three Divine Persons. This she succeeded in doing, in spite of the evasions and dialectic arts of sectarians, with wonderful tact indeed, but none the less decisively, courageously, simply, and with preternatural foresight.[3]

The mother-Church of Rome also bestowed temporal gifts on the distressed communities both of the West and of the East. Cappadocia extolled the charity of Pope Dionysius, who had sent messengers to redeem the Christian captives from the hands of the barbarians. The consolatory letter sent by Dionysius to the oppressed districts was reverently preserved at Cæsarea in the time of Basil the Great. The same Basil tells of how it had ever been a happy custom for the See of Peter to aid, restore, and

[1] PETERS, *Der hl. Cyprian*, 1877. FECHTRUP, item, 1878. Cp. GRISAR, *Cyprians "Oppositionsconcil" gegen Papst Stephanus*, *Zeitsch. für kath. Theol.*, 5 (1881), p. 193 ff., and the articles by J. ERNST, ibid., 17 (1893), 79; 18 (1894), 209, 473; 19 (1895), 234. The last author (*Papst Stephan und der Ketzertaufstreit; Forsch. zur christ. Literatur und Dogmengesch.*, 1905, 5, No. 4), argues strongly for an opinion I advanced in 1881, viz., that Cyprian's Council was held before, and not after, Stephen's sentence condemning the African practice, and cannot therefore be spoken of as an opposition council in the ordinary meaning of the term.

[2] ATHANASIUS, *De sententia Dionysii*, c. 13. DITTRICH, *Dionysius der Grosse*, 1867.

[3] HAGEMANN, *Die römische Kirche*, &c., *in den ersten 3 Jahrh.*, 1864.

guide the Orientals. In proof of this statement he might have cited the Roman Bishop Soter, in the second century, whose high-minded liberality in succouring the poor communities in the East is warmly acknowledged by Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth.[1]

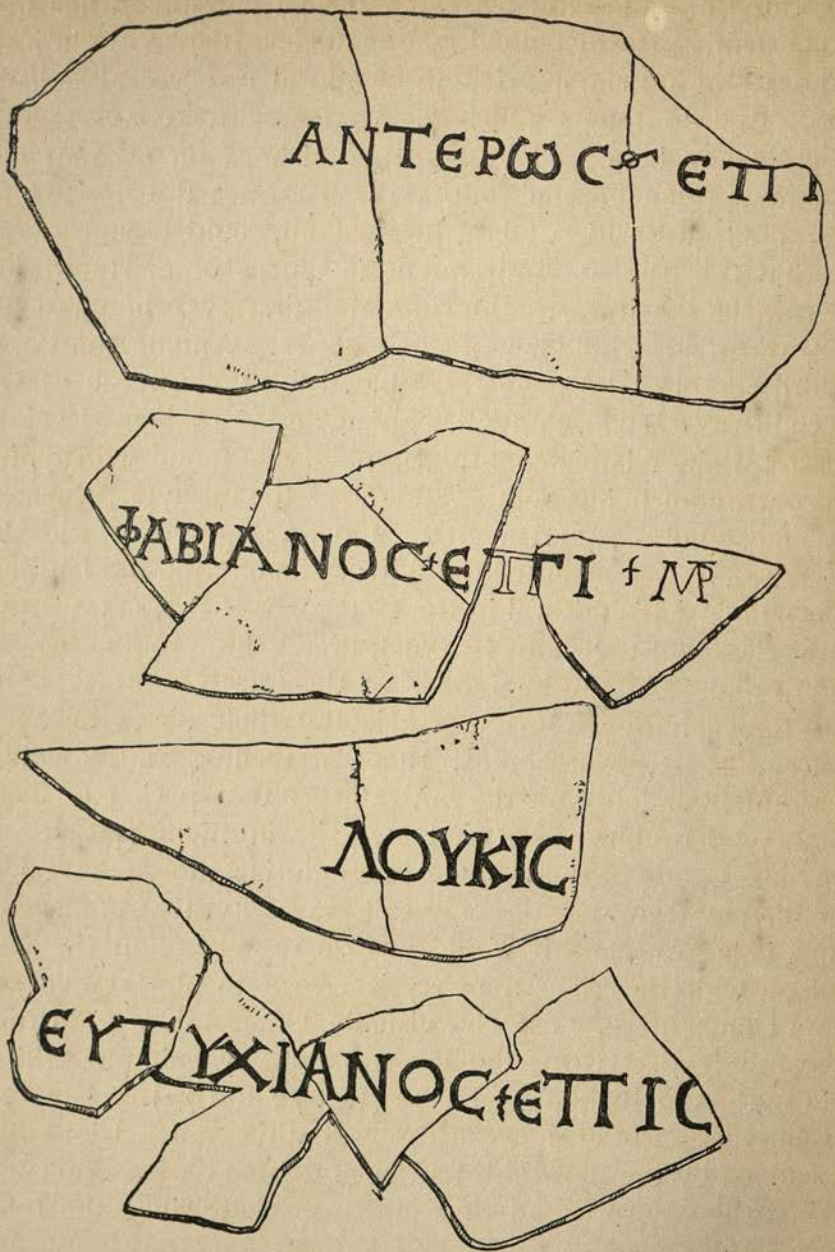
The Roman Primate, rich in temporal resources, particularly through the donations received from wealthy converts of the metropolis, and honoured by all other bishops on account of his spiritual supremacy, could not fail to attract the notice of the Roman civil authorities. He, least of all, could escape persecution. To this the not unfrequent instances of martyred Popes bear sufficient witness. During the first two hundred years history records a whole list of such Popes. Among the Popes of the third century who gave their blood for the Church of Christ were Callistus, Urban, Pontian, Fabian, and Cornelius. Lucius had at least to suffer banishment. Stephen was found worthy, in the sixth century, of being numbered among the martyrs. Xystus II. is the most famous, and also the most venerated, of the Papal martyrs. He was slain for the faith while offering the Eucharistic sacrifice amidst his faithful in the Catacomb of Prætextatus. The ancient title of St. Xystus (Sixtus), in the first region, was dedicated to him. At the beginning of the fourth century yet three other Popes bore witness to Christ by their death or by their sufferings—first, Marcellinus, then Marcellus, and, finally, the last to suffer violence for the faith during that period of persecution, Pope Eusebius, who died an exile in Sicily (†309 or 310).[2] Other successors in the chair of Peter during this period may also have died martyrs, but the only safe authority, that of early documents, is lacking, and it would not do to rely upon the popular tradition which ascribes a martyr's crown to almost every Pope before Constantine. All who visit the Catacomb of Callistus may reverently inspect there the few fragmentary epitaphs which remain of the old Bishops of Rome (Ills. 72 and 73).

The onslaught of that world-power which fancied its existence threatened by the new faith had been directed with cruel instinct against the Metropolitan of Rome, especially since the Emperor

[1] On Pope Dionysius, see BASIL, *Ep.* 70 (MIGNE, *P.G.*, XXXII., 433). On Soter, DIONYSIUS in EUSEBIUS, IV., c. 23; cp. VII., c. 5.

[2] On Pope Marcellus, see DUCHESNE, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (1898), p. 382, against MOMMSEN, who, in his *Prolegomena* in the *Liber pont.*, wrongly excludes Marcellus from the list of Popes. On the period of the persecutions, see LINSENMAYER, *Bekämpfung des Christenthums durch den römischen Staat bis zum Tode der Kaisers Julian*, 1905.

Decius, that champion of ancient imperialism. After Fabian's martyrdom, when the Holy See was vacant, Decius issued an



Ill. 73.—Epitaphs of Popes Anterus, Fabian, Lucius, and Eutychian in the Papal Crypt of the Catacomb of Callistus.

order to prevent the election of a successor. Of course this was to no purpose, and a priest was found ready to offer himself as a

victim. It was at that time that Cyprian voiced his view of the dangers of the situation: "It would be more tolerable to Decius for a usurper to raise the standard against him at the head of his legions than for the Roman Church to elect herself a new Pastor." Two decades later, when the worst storm had subsided, during a period of peace for the Church, a decision of the Emperor Aurelian proved in a very different manner how well the Government understood the rank and importance of the Roman Popes and of the bishops of Italy. The Empire condescended to reckon with the Popes in order to settle a point in dispute. The occasion for this was the doubt which then existed as to which church party at Antioch in Syria could rightly claim the episcopal residence, Paul, Bishop of Samosata, having been deposed for heresy and forced to evacuate his see. The imperial sentence was to the effect that the residence in question belonged to whichever party held communion with the bishops of Italy, and particularly with him of Rome.[1]

Not only the heathen authorities, but also the heretics and schismatics, were perfectly well aware which bishop possessed the leading influence in church matters. Their conduct shows that they believed that the Church and her rights were, above all, embodied in Peter's successor. Hence their ceaseless efforts to obtain Papal sanction. To establish themselves by deceit and dissimulation in the bosom of the Catholic Church was their constant, steady aim. This is true of the Montanists, the Gnostics, the anti-Trinitarians of the school of Theodotus and Artemon, the Patripassians, the Sabellians, the Subordinatists, and so on. And though the Church of Rome invariably unmasked and repulsed them, though it was known throughout Christendom that the Bishops of Rome ever held aloft the standard of true doctrine, heresy never ceased to found on Rome its delusive hopes.

197. It is certain that Rome, as capital of the Empire, exercised in every field a great power of attraction. Everything and everybody was gathered together in this heart and centre of the circulation of the whole world. No one would go so far as to say that the countless believers, true or false, that found their way to Rome were induced to come thither solely by the fame of its

[1] EUSEBIUS, VII., c. 30.

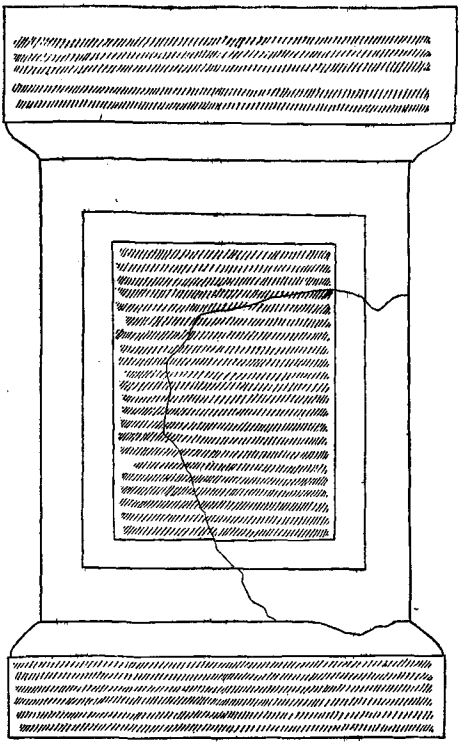
Note to Ill. 73.—DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I, tav. 3: "Anteros, Fabianos, Loukis, Eutychianos"; each with the addition "episcopos" save in the case of Lucius. The abbreviation MP denoting a martyr has been added by a later hand to Fabian's name.

bishops or of the Tombs of Peter and Paul. Even when religious, or supposed religious, interests were in question, the pilgrim may well have counted also on sharing some of the many advantages which the metropolis, as such, afforded. This we must always bear in mind, if we wish to take a fair and comprehensive view of the events and circumstances occurring in the history of the Primacy in the early Church. Unquestionably the Roman Primacy rose more rapidly into notice owing to the See having been established in the very focus of Roman Imperial power. At the same time it is entirely false to insinuate, as has been done, that the Bishops of Rome derived their spiritual authority merely from this external circumstance of their See. They did not hold it from the State, nor was it a result of the importance of the city, nor had they it by delegation from the other Churches, who, in deference to the seat of Empire, had acquiesced in the Roman bishop's claim to supreme power. How could even the most venerable traditions of a city or its greater brilliancy have decided so many high-minded members of the episcopacy—all jealous, too, of their independence—to submit to the dictation of a single bishop without the justice of his pretensions being made the subject of a general inquiry? Were such the case, we should have here the veriest riddle of history.

No problem, however, exists for those who know how to value and appreciate the power for all believers of Christ's words: "Thou art Peter." These words bent and vanquished the proud hearts of the ancient Roman world as soon as they were converted to Christ. The magic name of the city certainly contributed to their success, as we have already admitted, in increasing considerably the veneration and respect of the faithful for its bishop. The natural element combined with the supernatural. In fact, from the earliest times, it was widely accepted in the Church that its Divine Founder had chosen this brilliant summit of the world's grandeur for His own wise purpose, and had directed Peter to wend his steps towards Rome, and to fix his abode and that of his successors in this central point of the Roman State.[1]

[1] GELASIUS, *Tractatus II., De damnatione nominum Petri et Acacii*, c. 10 (ed. THIEL, p. 529: "*Unum principem esse ex illis (apostolis) voluit Christus eumque dispensatione mirabili in dominam gentium Romam direxit, ut in praecipua urbe vel prima primum et praecipuum dirigeret Petrum. Ibique sicut doctrinae virtute sublimis emicuit,*

Among the many distinguished bishops who came from afar as pilgrims to Rome during the early centuries was **Abercius** of Hierapolis, in Phrygia. He may serve as a representative of those men who, in their ardent desire to see the great city and the great Church, came from their remote homes full of religious zeal and Roman pride, with no fear of fatigue. They deem themselves well rewarded by the re-invigoration of their faith subsequent on their finding it one and the same throughout the Church, by the sight of Rome, the richly decked, radiant queen of earth, the city in which dwells a people, to use the phrase of Abercius, holding aloft the "glorious seal," *i.e.* the confession of the Christian faith.



Ill. 74.—Tombstone and Epitaph of Abercius.
Reconstruction, showing division of inscription.

St. Abercius came to Rome as early as the second century, under the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Of this bishop we possess a most remarkable monument in memory of his journey. It is the epitaph composed by himself, a part of which has only quite recently been discovered. According to the prevalent view, the middle of the stela was inscribed with two-and-twenty lines with five additional lines above and six below (Ill. 74). The rescued fragments now adorn the Christian museum at the Lateran, and their decipherment has given rise to a perfect flood of publications. This inscription, on account

ita sanguinis gloriosa effusione decoratus aeterno hospitio conquiescit, praestans sedi quam ipse benedixit, ut a portis inferi nunquam pro Domini promissione vincatur omniumque sit fluctuantium tutissimus portus." Cp., on the theological and historical side of the connection of the Primacy with the city of Rome, Granderath, *Constitutiones dogm. oecum. concilii vaticani* (1892), p. 137 ff. Hollweck, *Der apostolische Stuhl und Rom*, 1895.

of its thoughtful and instructive contents, is rightly deemed the most interesting of all early Christian epitaphs.[1]

Abercius, or Avirkios Markellos, Bishop of Hierapolis, mentioned with distinction by Eusebius, left a great name in Phrygia, through being associated with the history of the defence of the faith against the errors of the Phrygian Montanists. The unity and purity of the apostolic tradition was his most sacred care. It must have been this care which, above all, drew him to Rome; for, in his epitaph, he tells us that the Divine Shepherd, who watches over every nation, had impelled him to undertake the journey; he bears solemn witness to the inviolate doctrine of the Roman Church, and to the agreement of all the brethren everywhere in faith and charity, and in the use of the same mysterious channels of grace.

The inscription, where it speaks of that means of grace which is the Eucharist, is intentionally obscure to the heathen and intelligible only to the Christians, having for its object to encourage them if they be true believers or to confound them if they be heretics. Accordingly, agreeably with early Christian usage, it makes use of symbolic expressions, substituting, for instance, the word "fish" for the Eucharistic Christ. The language throughout is pervaded by the figurative style of its time, of which the spirit enters us as we read its words:—

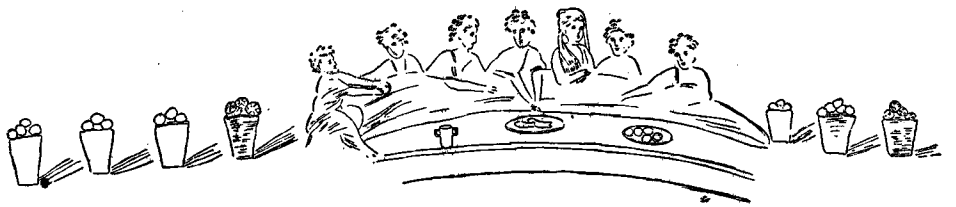
"I was a disciple," says the bishop in his epitaph, "of the Pure Shepherd, who feeds his sheep on hill and dale, and whose far-seeing eyes annihilate distance. He has taught me the true doctrine (of salvation). He it is who sent me to Rome, to see the king and the queen clothed in golden raiment, with golden sandals. There I saw the nation which holds aloft the 'glorious seal.' I saw also Syria's plains and all the cities, even Nisibis beyond the Euphrates. Everywhere Paul was my companion on the road. But for my guide I had ever Faith, which everywhere set before

[1] On the history of St. Abercius and his inscription, see DUCHESNE, *Revue des questions hist.*, 1883, 2, 1 ff., and *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1895, p. 17 ff., against Gerhard Ficker and Harnack, who, as Albrecht Dieterich did afterwards, had pronounced the inscription a heathen one. Cp. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. christ. urbis Romae*, 1, 2, p. xii. ff.; LIGHTFOOT, *Apostolic Fathers*, part 2, vol. 1, p. 476 ff.; MARUCCHI, *Nuovo Bullett. di archeol crist.*, 1 (1895), 1 ff., with the reproduction, Pl. III.–VI., and VII.; WILPERT, *Fractio panis* (1895), Appendix III., p. 103–127, with reproduction, Pl. 17; GRISAR, *Civiltà catt.*, 1896, 1, 217 ff., where (p. 218) a Latin translation is given with the Greek text of the inscription. A good defence of the Christian character of the inscription will be found in G. DE SANCTIS, *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* (*Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 21 (1897), 673 ff.). Cp. H. LECLERCQ in CABROL, *Dict. d'archéologie chrét., et de Liturgie*, 1, col. 64–87.

me the Fish fresh from the spring, the Powerful, the Pure, which the immaculate Virgin had taken. Everywhere it gave it to its friends for food, fetching forth true wine, which it offered mixed with water, and likewise bread."[1]

Several expressions in this epitaph sound almost like an echo from the Roman catacombs; they correspond to figurative representations which Abercius had evidently seen in the places of worship of his glorified queen. Some of these have in fact been rightly assigned by archæology to the date of Abercius's journey to Rome.

In the crypt of Lucina, in the Catacomb of Callistus, we find twice portrayed the eucharistic fish, depicting symbolically the Divine Fish eaten by believers, and in front of it—that no doubt of its meaning may remain for the initiated—the species of bread



Ill. 75.—Painting newly discovered in the Catacomb of St. Priscilla, depicting the Breaking of Bread.

and wine. In the so-called Greek chapel of the Catacomb of Priscilla there is the celebrated scene of the eucharistic meal, where the head of the community and six other persons appear at a table. He is breaking the bread, while the chalice and fishes lie before him, and the mystic seven baskets of bread stand around; the whole being on a newly discovered picture from the earlier part of the second century (Ill. 75).[2] Then there are the other memorials on early Christian epitaphs, which display the five loaves and two fishes of the Gospel miracle, in allusion to the Eucharist as a pledge of the Resurrection (Ill. 76).[3] Further, there is the picture—so often introduced on Christian tombs—

[1] The passage of the inscription relating to Rome is as follows (ed. De Sanctis, p. 674): εἰς Ῥώμην [ὃς ἔπεμψέν] ἐμὲν βασιλ[ῆ αναθρῆσαι] καὶ βασίλισσ [αν ἰδεῖν χρυσόσ] τολον χρυσ[οπέδιλον·] λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐ[κεῖ λαμπράν] σφραγεῖδ' ἀνέ[χοντα]. The parts of the inscription set in brackets are supplied from the ancient Life of Abercius. The portion still in preservation is shown on Illustration 74, page 317, on the right-hand side of the monument.

[2] Our illustration is from Mgr. Wilpert. The president is the person sitting at the extreme left.

[3] After Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe.*

of the Good Shepherd, full of youthful beauty, dignity, and grandeur, whose eyes are on his flock. In the Catacomb of Domitilla we even find the hills and dales mentioned by Abercius. Finally, there is the "immaculate Virgin who has taken the Powerful Pure Fish from the spring," that is, Mary, represented as the chosen Mother of God. On a picture in the Catacomb of Priscilla, which certainly dates from the second century and probably belongs to its first half, she points to the Divine Infant at her breast, while the prophet Isaias stands beside her, his hand raised towards a star, to testify that the "powerful and pure" fruit of her body is that promised Star which came down to her from Heaven. The picture retains all the characteristics of classical Roman art at its best.[1]

Ill. 76.—The Eucharistic Fish as represented on Tomb-Slabs in the Catacombs.

Thus did the Roman Church, as the faithful guardian of tradition, teach by works of art that faith which it was her task to plant in the innermost heart of mankind. The language used by the head at Rome—whether vocal or pictorial—was understood by Christians at the farthest corners of the world. Even to-day, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, the venerable voice of the mother-church can still make itself heard, not only among her children, but also among those brethren who, though separated from her in faith, can still with unprejudiced minds appreciate the sacred antiquities of Rome, those witnesses of her Past and of her grand historical traditions.

[1] For the Fish-symbol in the crypt of Lucina, see DE ROSSI, *Roma sott.*, I., 348 ff., with coloured Pl. VIII.; KRAUS, *Roma sott.*, p. 253 and Pl. VIII.; WILPERT, *Fractio panis*, p. 81. For the fish and its relation to Christ, DE ROSSI, l.c. and in the *Spicilegium Solesmense* of Cardinal PITRA, 3, 567, where he closes his remarks (which bear also upon the famous inscription of Autun) as follows: "*Iam quis dubitare possit*, ἰχθύν,

Development of the Primacy in opposition to Arianism—Pope Damasus

198. Christian Emperors had scarcely begun to reign upon the too long polluted throne of the Empire, when from Rome also the voice of the Church's Head made itself heard more frequently and more energetically throughout the provinces of both East and West.

The period of the first Christian Emperors was occupied with the struggles against the Arians. It has already been pointed out that it was during this Arian controversy especially that the Roman Primate asserted himself and the powers inherent in his office. This is so true, that some authors imagine that the origin of the Primacy itself should be ascribed to this date, *i.e.* to the fourth century. To do this, however, they have to shut their eyes to its earlier evolution. In spite of this they are nearer the truth than those who hold another prevalent opinion, viz. that Leo the Great, in the following century, was the originator of the spiritual power of Rome.

The mighty development of the Primacy in the fourth century was mainly an outcome of the war which the Popes were forced to wage against the Arian heresy. Arianism assailed the essence of the Church's faith at its very root. The Saviour of mankind, the second Person of the Trinity, was, according to the Arians, no true Son of God and true God equal to the Father, but simply one of God's creatures, a temporary emanation of the Deity, an Æon in its Pagan sense. It cost incredible effort during half a century to overcome this fatal distortion of Christianity, and to guard against it the Roman Empire, only recently made fully accessible to the preaching of the Gospel. The heresy was ultimately compelled to seek a home outside the Roman boundaries, among the newly converted barbarians. That it was exter-

sive ille panem et vinum dorso sustinet, sive in mensa cum panibus positus, sive sub ipsa consecrantis sacerdotis manu depictus est, Christum esse in eucharistia?" KRAUS, *Roma sott.*, p. 239 ff. (disregarding Ill. 37). For the picture of the breaking of bread, see the work by its learned discoverer, Mgr. J. WILPERT, *Fractio panis.* For the pictures of the Good Shepherd and their classification, see DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. com.*, 1889, p. 131 ff.; ARMELLINI, *Nuovo Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1 (1895), fasc. 1.; WILPERT, ibid., p. 108 ff. For the picture of our Lady from St. Priscilla's, and on her pictures in the Roman cemeteries generally see LIELL, *Die Mariendarstellungen in den Katakomben* (1887), specially Pl. V. and p. 316 ff. LEHNER, *Die Marienverehrung in den ersten Jahrh.*, 2, ed. 1886.

minated within the Empire itself, that the name of Christianity did not become an empty sound, this was the fruit of the Church's efforts in defence of her unity and of the steady support given by her faithful to the cause of tradition; but above all it was a result of the indefatigable activity of her Head at Rome for the maintenance of that faith and that charity which is the link which unites all Christians.

Through their efforts in the cause of unity, it stands to reason that the divinely appointed guardians of the Church, the successors of St. Peter, steadily advanced in importance and esteem.

Of course, there is no doubt that the favours accorded them by the State served to enhance their position. The Roman Church owes everlasting gratitude to the goodwill of Constantine the Great. She also could well thank Providence that the same Emperor transferred the capital of the Empire to Constantinople, as thereby Rome was left to the Popes, who could now both act with greater independence and make the city the base of their operations in far-off lands.

Perhaps, after all, the favour of the Roman State was less useful to the Bishop of Rome than its opposition to his increase of dignity, which over and again he had to withstand with the moral weapons at his command. The Emperors, time after time, allowed themselves to be led astray by the Arian heresy; in these circumstances the Popes never failed to contend against the rulers, in spite of the latter being surrounded by a slavish court, which almost worshipped them as deities. At such times of stress it was no uncommon thing for the Churches of the provinces to seek refuge on the immovable Rock of Peter. The need of a firm common centre during the disorders was strongly expressed by the writers who then undertook to advocate the claims of the Roman See, whilst the measures taken by the Popes, in response to the dictates of duty and carried out with a deep sense of responsibility, were eventually crowned with success, and issued in the complete, peaceful, and joyful submission to Rome of the two great halves of the Empire.

We have now to show this by a general survey of the events of the period.

199. The Nicene Council of 325 clearly laid down the course to be pursued by advocates of Catholicism by its decision that the Son is of the same essence as the Father (*homousios*). At this

first general Synod of Christendom, Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, presided, as the representative of the Roman Bishop **Silvester** (314–335). Silvester had also sent two presbyters from Rome—Vitus and Vincentius. These three delegates of the Roman See signed the Acts previously to any other Father present at the Council. The Emperor Constantine merely occupied a place of honour assigned him, and not even the pompous narrative of his doings at the Council given by his favourite, Eusebius, can avail to transform his mere honorary chairmanship into a real presidency. At the end of the Council Vitus and Vincentius returned to Silvester carrying with them the Acts.[1]

After the short intermediate pontificate of Mark, a Roman, Silvester was succeeded by Pope **Julius**, also a native of Rome (337-352). He was promptly obliged to take the field in defence of unity against a new outburst of Arian activity. The heretics even forestalled the orthodox by launching an appeal to Julius. The Eusebians, anxious to remove Athanasius, the principal Eastern advocate of the Nicene faith, from his archiepiscopal see at Alexandria, chose the course of slandering him in a hypocritical letter of complaint addressed to Pope Julius. Athanasius was, however, able to justify himself to the Pope, first by letter and then by a personal interview. He travelled to the "Apostolic Throne, to which," as he writes, "no one can approach save with reverent awe." The Romans then beheld with wonder the Egyptian monks who attended him, clad in their coarse habits, living examples of penance and contempt for the world, especially to that ease-loving city of Rome. Other celebrated Oriental bishops also visited the Apostolic See in search of protection: Marcellus of Ancyra, Paul of Constantinople, Asclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Adrianople. On them, too, persecution had laid a heavy hand.[2]

As head of the Church, Pope Julius now convoked the oppo-

[1] HEFELE, *Conciliengesch.*, 1, 38–43. For the signatures, see MANSI, *Coll. conc.*, 692, 697; there is a new edition in the *Scriptores sacri et profani byzantini*, No. 2 (1896). Also in *Patrum nicaenorum nomina*, ed. GELTZER, HILGENFELD, and CUNTZ (1898). According to this edition the oldest lists contain many discrepancies in the order of the names. The position of the names mentioned above is, however, inferred with certainty from the agreement prevailing on this point between the list preserved by Socrates and all the Latin, the two Syriac, the Coptic, and the Armenian lists, and also the Greek catalogue of Theodosius Lector. According to EUSEBIUS (*de Vita Constantini*, 3, c. 10), at the opening of the Council, Constantine was "like an angel from Heaven"; but, c. 13, the panegyrist says of the Emperor: *παρεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς τῆς συνόδου προέδροις.*

[2] On Rome as the refuge of these helpless bishops, see HEFELE, p. 498 ff.

nents of these, bishops to a great Synod in Rome, where the complaints might be strictly investigated in his presence. The summons was carried to Antioch by the Roman presbyters, Elpidius and Philoxenus, but the heretical party, to escape the Council, and in contradiction to their own appeal, saw fit to question the right of the Roman bishop to intervene. In spite of this, Julius held the Council in 341, with fifty bishops, and Athanasius was acquitted and honourably restored to his see, the same happening to other bishops also.[1]

The letter regarding these matters, which Pope Julius at once despatched to the opposite faction, stands as a landmark in the history of the Roman Primacy. The Pope sharply censures the recent intrigues. Even had the accused bishops been guilty, he says, do you not know that, before summarily deposing them, you should have, "according to ancient usage, first written to us, in order that justice might take its due course"? In the stern language of a judge he reprimands them for having kept away. He points out that bishops had not feared to brave the journey from Thrace, Coelesyria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, whilst presbyters too had come, especially from Alexandria and Egypt, to help right to prevail.[2]

An echo of this subsequently famous letter is found in the words with which the Church-historian, Socrates, reproaches the Arians with not having feared to act unfairly towards Athanasius and the Nicene Council, when, according to the Papal note, such decisions or canons could not be made without the participation of the Roman See.[3]

Two years later Pope Julius received satisfaction against these refractory bishops at the great Council of **Sardica** (343). This highly respected Synod, of which the decisions were placed on a level with those of Nicæa, was summoned to effect a reunion between the orthodox and the Arian party. About a hundred

[1] THEODORET (*Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 4) points out that Julius, in summoning the prosecutors to Rome, was simply acting in accordance with the "church rule": *τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπόμενος νόμῳ κτλ.* Pope Boniface I. appealed later, among other precedents, to the Roman procedure with regard to Athanasius, when he wished to show that the primacy of his See had been acknowledged by the chief eastern sees. *Ep. ad Rufum Thessalon.*, &c. (MANSI, 8, 758; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 365).

[2] The decree has come down to us in the Greek—see ATHANAS., *Apolog. contra Arianos*, c. 21 ff., where we read: *ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὅτι τοῦτο ἔθος ἦν, γράφεσθαι ἡμῖν καὶ οὕτως ἔνθεν ὁρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια*; (c. 35).

[3] SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 17: *Μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος κελεύοντος.* Cp. FUNK, *Hist. Jahrbuch*, 14 (1893), 496.

orthodox and many heretical bishops met for this purpose at Sardica, in Eastern Illyricum, midway between the two halves of the Empire, having been convoked by Constans and Constantius, the two sons of Constantine, at the request of Pope Julius and other bishops. Once more Hosius of Corduba presided, in the name of the Bishop of Rome, and was supported by two Roman presbyters, Archidamus and Philoxenius.

These three again take the first place among the signatories. The effort at reunion was a failure; the heretical faction separated from the rest, and accentuated the opposition by holding a Synod of their own. The Fathers of Sardica, notwithstanding, took all possible steps to effect what had been already decided in Rome. They solemnly recognised the right of appeal to the Apostolic See, the refuge of all who sought help, and the indispensable pledge of religious security, particularly in such troublous times.

"In order to do honour to the memory of the Apostle Peter," they lay it down that, in the case of any bishop, an appeal may be made to the Roman See whenever a Provincial Synod has decreed his deposition, if he still believes himself in the right. Amongst other things, they also express their conviction to Pope Julius that all bishops in the provinces should supply "detailed reports to the Head, *i.e.* to the Chair of Peter."[1]

It was an exceedingly gratifying result of the many efforts made by the Western episcopacy, and especially by the Roman bishop, when Athanasius was at last allowed to return in peace to his see of Alexandria, from which, however, he was to be repeatedly evicted later. This glorious champion of the faith, during his first exile, had spent more than three years at Rome, associating with Julius and his clergy. Now, after the Council of Sardica, Julius, in a joyous letter, congratulates the Alexandrians on their having once more among them as their pastor the undaunted fighter, whose many sufferings have won for him the

[1] *Conc. Sardic.*, c. 3: "*Sancti Petri apostoli memoriam honoremus*," &c. (MANSI, 3, 23; HEFELE, 1, 560 ff.). On the authority of the Canons of Sardica which have been assailed by Friedrich, see FUNK, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 23 (1902), p. 497 ff.; 26 (1905), p. 1 ff. On p. 13 he expounds Canon 4, which merely determines the previous one. Cp. P. VON CHASTONAY, *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, 88 (1905), p. 3 ff. DUCHESNE also disagrees with Friedrich (*Il Bessarione*, 1902, p. 129 ff.). Cp. on its canonical significance, PHILLIPS, *Kirchenrecht*, 5, 262 ff., where, like Hefele, the author shows that no new privilege was granted the Pope, but that the Council merely sanctioned one which existed already. The letter to Julius is in MANSI: "*Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum videbitur, si ad caput, id est Petri sedem, de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant sacerdotes.*"

glory of a Confessor of the Faith. He encourages them also to show for the future the same zeal for the faith as they have hitherto displayed towards Athanasius, in spite of the great afflictions which it involved.[1]

The Pope was also cheered by the submission of several heretical bishops. For instance, Valens of Mursia, and Ursacius of Singidunum, deposed at Sardica for their Arian tenets, sent him an orthodox confession of faith, beseeching him to restore them to his communion. In it they express their gratitude that Julius, in his charity and kindness of heart, had shown his readiness to pardon their errors.[2]

200. Julius was succeeded in the Roman See by **Liberius**, also a Roman (352–366). In his pontificate again, in consequence of the Arian controversy, the strong bonds are everywhere visible which unite the Roman Primate and his supreme power with all the branches of the Church.

Very soon after Liberius's accession the Egyptian bishops began to send him letters informing him of the new attacks to which Athanasius was being subjected. No sooner had the Emperor Constantius changed his opinions and set himself at the head of the Arians, than the despot found in the Roman See his natural and most energetic opponent. Constantius had reckoned that by force and fraud he would gradually establish Arianism everywhere as the State religion, and this with the bishops' consent. This scheme was, however, impracticable if opposed by Rome. At the Conciliabulum of Milan in 355, he had to a large extent his own way owing to the compliance of the bishops; but he had not gained everything, for as Ammianus Marcellinus remarks: "The Emperor desired intensely that his work should be confirmed by that authority which distinguishes the Bishops of the Eternal City."[3]

Constantius accordingly bombarded Pope Liberius with representations and requests. The highly placed eunuch Eusebius commanded him, in the Emperor's name, to receive the Arians into his communion and to throw over Athanasius. Being repulsed,

[1] See the letter in ATHANAS., *Apol. contra Arianos*, c. 52 (JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 188.

[2] . . . τῇ πλάνῃ κατηξίωσε συγγνώμην δοῦναι. ATHANASIUS, *Apologia contra Arianos*, c. 58.

[3] ". . . *tamen auctoritate quoque, qua potiores aeternae urbis episcopi firmari desiderio nitebatur ardenti*" (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, 15, c. 7).

he ventured to leave in the Basilica of St. Peter's the presents which he had brought. Liberius, however, had them gathered up and restored to their bearer. The next measure was an order of Constantius to bring the Pope to the Imperial camp. Even there Liberius fearlessly persisted in defending the true faith, nor did the Emperor's threats make him swerve an inch from his duty. Banishment was the result, and he was exiled to Berœa in Thrace, where he was compelled to live isolated from all society, except the company of a few orthodox friends.[1]

There is wanting strict historical evidence to prove that, towards the end of his banishment, in a fit of depression and weakness, he consented to sign the so-called third Sirmium formulary which failed to reach the standard of the Nicene faith. Still less can there be any question of his having been converted to the heresy.[2]

On this occasion also we have proof that the Arian bishops recognised the huge importance of the primacy of Peter. "If we can only win over Liberius," they said, "all the others will quickly submit."[3]

On his return Liberius was received at Rome by his orthodox flock with great jubilation. Throughout the city rang the cry: "One Christ, One Shepherd." He denounced the new Synod summoned by the Arians at Rimini, and called upon all bishops who wished to rejoin the Church to join him in launching an anathema against this new Council and its Arian heresies. On the death of the tyrant, Constantius, when at last a great movement back to the Church began among the schismatics, he issued "general decrees" directing how the penitent Arians and semi-Arians were to be treated, and also laying down rules concerning the validity of the baptism they had conferred.[4]

By a solemn letter he also readmitted to the Church's communion some sixty Oriental bishops of the semi-Arian faction. They had deputed as their delegates to him, Eustathius, Silvanus, and Theophilus, Bishops of Sebaste, Tarsus, and Castabalae

[1] ATHANAS, *Historia Arianor. ad monachos*, c. 35 ff. THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, II., c. 16, 17. AMMIAN. MARCELL., l.c.

[2] Cp. my article on Liberius in the *Kirchenlexikon* of WETZER and WELTE, 7 (1891), col. 1945–1959.

[3] . . . *εἰ τὸν Λιβέριον πείσαμεν, ταχέως πάντων κρατήσομεν.* See ATHANAS., ibid., c. 35.

[4] For the Conciliabulum of Rimini, see JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 220 ff. The *generalia decreta* are mentioned by Pope Siricius, *Ep. ad Himerium*, c. 2, in JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 255.

respectively, who had handed in a profession of faith conformable with the Nicene Creed. Liberius finding, as he says, that this document agreed with his own profession, and with that of all the Bishops of Italy and the West, there was now no further reason to hinder the ratification of the union.[1]

An anonymous Papal epitaph, which has latterly been ascribed with much probability to Liberius, highly praises the departed Pope for his painful and laborious struggle on behalf of the faith of Nicæa. It speaks of him as a "Teacher of the Divine Law with a perfect heart," a "mighty Witness," a "dove with no bitterness."[2]

201. On the splendid carved wooden door of the Basilica of St. Sabina in Rome, well known as a unique work of art belonging to the fifth century, in one of the scenes covering the great panels, figure the founders of the Church of Rome, Peter and Paul, who are portrayed holding up a cross towards a youthful glorified figure of our Saviour who stands above them encircled by the crown of victory (Ill. 77.) Between them stands in quiet majesty, the Mother of Christ, in the attitude of an Orante representing the community of the faithful, or the Church of God, and Spouse of Christ.

The whole of this grandly conceived and skilfully executed carving brings clearly before the spectator, if our view is the correct one, the idea of the Church in her unity; that is to say, the Church which both in this world and the next is cultivating her supernatural life. While, in the undimmed lustre of the world to come, Christ sits enthroned, as her hope, ready to receive the elect of God's kingdom, the Church is active here below, during this transient life, in maintaining the faith, symbolised by the Cross which Peter and Paul preached. The two chief

[1] For the text of the Pope's letter to the Eastern Bishops, see SOCRATES, *Hist. eccl.*, IV., c. 12; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 228. Cp. HEFELE, I, 736 ff.

[2] "*Divinae legis sincero corde magistrum, . . . confessor potens, . . . sine felle columba.*" DE ROSSI, *Bullett. archeol. crist.*, 1883, p. 5, ff.; 1890, p. 123 ff. (p. 126 against the attribution of the anonymous epitaph to Martin I., or, p. 129, to John I.); *Inscript. christ. urbis Romae*, 2, 1, 83–85. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, 1, 209 ff. CINTI, *Hist. crit. eccl.*, 2, 130 ff. The arguments which FUNK quotes in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, 13 (1892), 489 ff., and in his *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen*, 1, 391 ff., against its attribution to Liberius and in favour of Martin I., do not seem to me conclusive any more than that suggested by MOMMSEN, viz., to (the Anti-Pope) Felix II. Against Mommsen, see *Il Bessarione*, 1897, p. 260 ff. On Liberius generally, cp. L. DE FEIS, *Storia di Liberio papa e dello scisma dei Semiariani*, Roma, 1894.

Ill. 77.

Ill. 78.

Symbolical representation of the Church and of the Christian Roman Empire on the Door of Sta. Sabina.

Apostle-martyrs of Rome, in this representation as in so many others where they appear similarly associated, cannot fail to awaken memories of the high privileges belonging to the Roman Chair of Peter, for though Peter and Paul seem here to stand on an equal footing, yet all were aware that the right of pre-eminence in the defence of unity was exclusively embodied in the divinely appointed office of Peter, Paul being associated with him as the teacher of the Gentiles and as symbolising the catholicity or universality of the Church.

Among the series of carvings on the door of the Aventine Basilica, it seems to me that we find depicted, not only the Church, but also the Christian Roman Empire. If this be true, then we here find the twin powers artistically combined. The Empire is symbolised by a ruler clothed with the chlamys (Ill. 78),[1] standing with outstretched arms before a temple, and accepting the applause (*acclamatio*) of the bystanders, who are divided, just as in the similar scene on the Arch of Constantine, into two groups—the nobler sort wearing the toga, and the common people a simple *planeta* (*paenula*).

The Christian building, surmounted by a cross which rises behind the Emperor, appears to signify the high office which he fills in the outward affairs of the Church; whilst the winged angel, visible on his left, may have been introduced in place of the winged Victory to figure the help from above which the ruler invokes, or upon which he may rely. This work and the previous are by different artists.[2] It is nothing surprising to find the ideas of Church and State thus embodied in a work of art at a period when the spirit of the age concerned itself so much with these

[1] Ills. 77, 78 both from my own photographs. See *Analecta rom.*, 1, 427 ff., pp. 444–449 and 669, also *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 8 (1894), 1 ff. The views which I there expressed have since won the support of J. WIEGAND in his work *Das altchristl. Hauptportal von S. Sabina* (1900), pp. 51, 82.

[2] The usual explanation of this scene, *i.e.* as representing the meeting of Zachary and the angel, becomes impossible if we pay attention to a detail which has not received sufficient notice; the leading figure is not dressed in the *lacerna*, which at this period of Christian art was the dress in which Jewish priests were usually depicted, but in the military or court-dress, the *chlamys*, like Constantine on his arch at Rome and Justinian on the mosaics at Ravenna. For similar representations of angels with human beings, see STUHLFAUTH, *Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (*Archäologische Studien*, by J. FICKER, 3, fasc. (1897), p. 176 ff. The celebrated ivory angel in the British Museum, belonging to the first half of the sixth century (ibid., 179), according to the inscription, must also be regarded as the guardian angel of some high personage, perhaps of an emperor. Cp. the supplement to my Dissertation 10 in the *Analecta rom.*, 1, on the door of St. Sabina's. Wiegand has come round to my view, and also sees in the figure the "Christian-Roman Empire." He adds that, in its "symbolism," the work makes a "good counterpart of the figure of the Church."

two powers and their mutual relationship. If this remark applies to the fifth century, in which the splendid door of Sta. Sabina was carved, it holds good no less of the earlier period when the great Arian disputes raged.

Another energetic Pope succeeded Liberius on his decease, and followed in his predecessor's footsteps; this was St. **Damasus** (366–384). The *Liber pontificalis* describes him as a Spaniard, but from his childhood he had dwelt at Rome. Damasus, too, was filled with a sense of the duty which devolved on him, as head of the Church, to make every effort to protect her against the Arian heresy. During his pontificate, mainly in consequence of these struggles, many indeed were the testimonies of the best and most influential men of the day, who saw safety for the threatened Church only on the divinely appointed spiritual supremacy of Rome. Like Liberius, Damasus considered the rejection of the Rimini conciliabulum a matter of life or death. "This assembly," he writes regarding the proceedings of this pretended council, "is utterly without worth, for it never secured the consent of the Roman Bishop, whose opinion should certainly have been sought beforehand, nor that of Vincent of Capua and of other bishops. On the contrary, everything has been carried out by force and deceit, and in defiance of all church rule."[1]

This decision, together with the demand for the universal acknowledgment of the Nicene Council, was the outcome of the first known Synod which Damasus held at Rome in 369. From this same Synod the Pope and other assembled Fathers sent to the Eastern bishops a formulary which should serve as the standard of belief (*tomus* or *typus*). This they were to sign without demur if they wished to be readmitted into communion with the Church. "We have come to a decision," writes the Pope, "and whosoever wishes to feel himself a Christian may learn from it to what he must hold fast in order to keep within the bounds of the tradition handed down to us by the Apostles." At the Synod of Antioch, in the year 378, Eastern bishops, to the number of 146, subscribed to this doctrinal standard, their signatures being deposited among the archives of the Roman Church.[2]

[1] MANSI, 3, 443. JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 232.

[2] On the Roman Council of 369, see JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 232. The other Synod mentioned by JAFFÉ, which condemned Liberius, and is supposed to have taken place previously, is now recognised as an invention. The synodal letter of 369 (MANSI, 3, 443, 455), is mentioned by Damasus in his epistle to the Easterns against Apollinaris

Whoever was in this manner acknowledged by the Roman See, was acknowledged with no further ceremony a lawful bishop. For instance, to the Synod of Tyana there came Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, who had been deposed at another orthodox Synod at Melitine; on producing a letter of recognition from the Pope, he was without further ado admitted to sit and to vote in the assembly.[1]

Nor did Pope Damasus display the slightest fear in proceeding against even the most eminent bishops in the Empire when they leaned towards Arianism, and, by his use of the penalty of deposition, he proved himself to be the Primate. Auxentius had thus to vacate his prominent see of Milan on account of his semi-Arian attitude. The Pope also rejected the election of the heretic Maximus Cynicus, who had been chosen Bishop of Constantinople, and directed the holding of a fresh election, which resulted in the choice of Nectarius, an orthodox prelate, the election being then confirmed by Papal authority. He ratified the election of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria—*i.e.* of the most important see of the East—who, like his predecessor Athanasius, had come to Rome in exile and distress. Antioch, the next most important see, also received his attention. It had been disturbed by the Meletian schism, which stood in outward communion with the Arians. Under Damasus the right of the successor of Peter to confirm bishops was exercised at Antioch, though the division only healed very slowly.[2]

It was on the occasion of these disturbances at Antioch that Jerome wrote to Pope Damasus in a celebrated letter: "I know nothing of Vitalis, Meletius I reject, Paulinus is a stranger to me (these were the three bishops whose claims to the see of Antioch were under discussion); following no one else but Christ alone, I am in communion with thee, that is, with the Chair of Peter. I

and Timothy, which Theodoret (*Hist. eccl*, V., c. 10) has preserved in translation: Ἤδη γὰρ ἅπαξ τύπον ἐδώκαμεν, &c. On the Synod of Antioch, see HEFELE, I, 743; in MANSI, 3, 461, after the signatures, we read: "*quorum subscriptio in authenticum hodie archivis romanae ecclesiae tenetur.*"

[1] *Basilii M. Epist.* 263, *ad Damasum: Pat. Gr.*, XXXII., 979.

[2] On Auxentius, see MANSI, 3, 459; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 232. On Maximus Cynicus, see MANSI, 8, 749; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 237. On Nectarius, see *Bonifatii I. Epist. ad episcopos Macedoniae*, MANSI, 8, 756; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, NO. 365: "*Clementissimae recordationis princeps Theodosius, Nectarii ordinationem, propterea quia in nostra notione non esset, habere non existimans firmitatem, missis e latere suo aulicis cum episcopis, formatam huic a sede romana dirigi depoposcit, quae eius sacerdotium roboraret.*" On Peter, see JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 236. On Antioch, see Boniface's epistle as above.

know the Church is founded upon one sole Rock. Whoever attaches himself to the Chair of Peter, he is my man."[1]

202. The other great spokesmen of the Church, during the progress of this dispute at Antioch—which proved to be the touchstone of the consciousness of unity existing in the East—used no other language than Jerome's.

A whole series of renowned Fathers flourished at this time —Chrysostom and Basil in the East—Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine in the West—for the palmiest days of church literature, matured as it was by these mental conflicts, coincide partly with the period of Damasus. All stand in marvellous agreement in the support of Papal rights, whether in connection with Antioch or regarding the measures to be taken against the Arians, or any other questions. According to their witness, Peter, the chosen Fisherman, continues to reign in Rome—Peter the Prince of the Apostles, and the Head of the Church, and the Vicar of Christ. "Where Peter is," exclaims **Ambrose,** "there is the Church. *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia.*"[2]

It was Ambrose, also, who dictated the words which the famous Council of Aquileia, in 381, addressed to the Emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius; viz., that they must accord their protection to the Roman Church, the centre whence the rights of the venerable communion radiate on all.[3]

203. Under Pope Damasus, besides the schism at Antioch, different other sects joined the Arian movement. Everywhere they were opposed by the Roman Primate. This did not occur from any wish to display his power, but from the consciousness of his duty to make every effort to re-establish the Church's unity. It thereby became clear that the body of the Church could not suffer without the Bishop of Rome manifesting his sympathetic concern. The evidence of history is that even then ecclesiastical Rome was playing the part of heart and head in the body of the visible Church. We need only give a few details here of these conflicts with the sects.

Apollinarianism arose out of an erroneous, one-sided opposition to Arianism, and was repeatedly condemned by the Roman See at Synods. Damasus directed St. Jerome to compose a Con-

[1] HIERONYMUS, *Ep.* 15, *ad Damasum* (from the year 376), *P.L.*, XXII., 356.
[2] *In psalm. XL.*, No. 30. *Patr. lat.*, XIV., 1082.
[3] MANSI, 3, 622: "*inde enim in omnes venerandae communionis iura dimanant.*"

fession of Faith dealing with its tenets which, in the name of the Pope, might be presented for subscription to those Apollinarists who were ready to revert to the fold. In his letter to the East, which had turned to him in the difficulty, the Pope declares that Apollinaris had been condemned "by the judgment of the Apostolic See."[1]

The sect of the **Luciferians** also owed their origin to having taken up a false position towards the Arians. Damasus had rightly shown more readiness to pardon repentant Arians than Bishop Lucifer of Caralis (Cagliari), and even blamed the latter's misplaced rigour. But the party of the headstrong bishop continued to hold together, and, on their trying to gain a footing at Rome, Jerome began to assail them with all his force, in a violent tract pointing to their folly in trying to make out that their little community, schismatically separated from Peter, was the only true Church. "The salvation of Christians," he reminds them, "depends on the dignity of the High Priest; if we do not recognise him to be superior to all the faithful, then the Church is dissolved into as many sects as there are bishops."[2]

Entirely removed from Arianism, or at any rate only very loosely connected with it, were the **Priscillianists** of Spain and Gaul. The movement inaugurated by these was more concerned with profound moral questions. They, too, looked to Rome, and their leaders fully recognised the rights of the Primacy. Among the recently found tracts ascribed to Priscillian is one which he addressed to Damasus, Bishop of Rome. He therein lays the whole question before him, "because," as he says, "the Pope holds the highest rank, and is first among all." According to him the Bishopric of Rome "came to be the Apostolic See through the dignity of Peter." Again, Priscillian, after his condemnation at the Synod of Saragossa, appealed for a new impartial trial by the Pope and his Synod.[3]

The language used by **Basil the Great** to the Pope is still

[1] MANSI, 3, 467; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 234, after THEODORET, *Hist. eccl.*, V., c. 10: ἐνταῦθα Τιμόθεος κρίσει τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας . . . καθηρέθη ἅμα τῷ διδασκάλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλιναρίῳ.

[2] *Contra Luciferianos*, c. 9, *P.L.*, XXIII., 165: "*Ecclesiae salus in summi sacerdotii dignitate consistit*," &c.

[3] *Liber* 2, *ad Damasum episcopum*: "*Senior omnium nostrum es*," and again: "*omnium senior et primus*." Priscillian, ed. SCHEPSS (*Corpus script. eccles., lat.* XVIII.), p. 34 ff. This appeal to the Pope renders it easier to ascribe the work to Priscillian; the case is not quite the same with the other writings which Schepss ascribes to him. Cp. MICHAEL, *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 16 (1892), 692 ff.; 18 (1894), &c.

more impressive and disinterested. Harassed by the semi-Arian and Macedonian sects which had sprung from Arianism, he turns for help to the Apostolic Chair of Old Rome. He saw with pain how men infected with every variety of semi-Arianism, under cover of that moderation which was the inheritance of Arianism, were invading all the sees of the East. He was one of the first to perceive the peril in the doctrine of Macedonius, especially directed against the divinity of the Holy Ghost. But at the same time he felt that the East was too exhausted to be equal to its new and heavy tasks. The impulse of self-preservation induced him, therefore, in the name of the whole East, to turn for help to Rome and the Chair of Peter, and to the orthodox believers of the West. Of them all, Basil begs, on behalf of the Greeks, with pathetic urgency, the sending of "doctors for the sick," as he says, "and teachers for the sound."[1]

204. As far back as 371 this zealous Archbishop of Cæsarea had laid before Pope Damasus, by a remarkable embassy, his wish that legates could be sent to the East, as had been done by the predecessors of Damasus. They would be able to detect the guilty, and move the repentant to seek readmission into the Church. This call for help, brought by the deacon Dorotheus, was responded to by the Pope, and the deacon Sabinus was despatched to Basil. The encouraging letter which Sabinus conveyed with him did not, however, give full satisfaction to Basil, and he again urged that a fully empowered delegation should be sent throughout the Churches. "We regard the care," he says to the Pope, "that your love can bestow on us as our only hope of safety. Even in former times your marvellous sympathy for us served to sustain and comfort us."[2]

Basil had confided to his great friend, Athanasius of Alexandria, the steps he had taken to obtain the vigorous intervention of Rome. "It seemed suitable unto us," he writes to the now aged defender of the Church, "to address ourselves to the Bishop of Rome, in order that he might take the state of affairs here into consideration;" he tells him also that he had proposed to the

[1] On Basil's relations with Rome and the Western bishops, see his letters, 66-70, 89-92, &c. (MIGNE, *Pat. Graeca*, XXXII.).

[2] *Ep.* 70, *ad Damasum; Pat. Graec.*, XXXII., 433. The words here quoted were recalled by Pope Leo XIII. to the memory of the Easterns when he was striving to win them back to unity. See the Consistorial of February 28, 1879, on the occasion of the enthronisation of a Patriarch of Babylon of the Chaldaic rite.

Pope, as at the time it was impossible to hold a Synod at Rome, to make use of his own prerogative and cancel the decrees of Rimini, making them inoperative throughout the East.[1]

It seemed almost like a presentiment of the disaster which was afterwards to overtake the Eastern Church when one of its greatest men thus proclaims the need in which it stood of outward help, and looks longingly to the West and to Rome as its only support.

It was not until after the Arian persecutor, Valens, had perished in a battle against the Goths, that Theodosius the Great, having become Emperor of the East, sanctioned the holding, in 381, of the **Council of Constantinople** against the Macedonians and other Arian sects. This Synod, reckoned the second Œcumenical Council, pronounced solemn censure on the Macedonian heresy denying the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The position of the Roman Primate at the assembly is in several ways remarkable. The Council had not been convoked as a General one, but only as an assembly of the bishops belonging to the Eastern Empire of Theodosius. Rome, therefore, took no part in its convocation, nor did she assume the presidency. Further, the Synod found the main question at issue, viz., the doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, already settled by a decree of the Roman See, Damasus having already previously proceeded with great energy against the Macedonian errors, especially at a Roman Council. This invaluable decree is now known to us. The lucid and beautiful doctrinal formulary regarding the Holy Ghost, which stands at the beginning of the so-called Gelasian decretal, has been recently, and rightly, declared to be the work of Damasus.[2] The Council of the Greek capital entered vigorously upon the course thus traced for it beforehand by Old Rome.

Theoretically this false doctrine was now done with. In the West, so far as the faithful had any knowledge of it, the denial

[1] *Ep.* 69, *ad Athanas.*; *Patr. Graec.*, XXXII., col. 431: Ἐφάνη δὲ ἡμῖν ἀκόλουθον ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ ἐνταῦθα, &c. Negotiations with Rome for various reasons were very protracted; this gave rise to Basil's irritation which finds expression in other letters.

[2] HEFELE, 1, 739, 740 (on the Roman Synods of 369 and 374); JAFFÉ, p. 38, and Addenda, p. 691. Cp. the anathema in COUSTANT, *Ep. rom. pont.*, p. 516; MANSI, 3, 481; and (very poorly) in DENZIGER, *Enchiridion*, p. 11 ff. The decree on the Holy Ghost is in MANSI, 3, 462, beginning: "*Dictum est* [*a synodo*]: *Prius agendum est de Spiritu septiformi;*" ending: "*annuntiabit vobis.*" Cp. THIEL, *De decretali Gelasii P. de recipiendis libris* (1866); *Ep. rom. pont.*, p. 53 ff. and 454. FRIEDRICH, *Drei unedirte Concilien*, with appendix on the *Decretum Gelasii* (1867). Also in the *Sitzungsberichte der Bayr. Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1888, I., 54 ff.; HEFELE, 2, 618 ff.

of the divinity of the Holy Ghost had never found many supporters.

Hence the project which was mooted by some Western bishops to summon another General Council in Rome was quite purposeless. It was perfectly sufficient for the bishops of the great Eastern Synod, which had reassembled at Constantinople, to send delegates to Rome, namely, their brethren Cyriacus, Eusebius, and Priscianus. Through them the head of the Church and the Western bishops were informed of what had occurred, and received a report on the condition of the East. Photius was of opinion that Damasus confirmed the measures taken by the Council for the defence of the faith. What has been said shows, however, that no formal ratification of the Council was required.[1]

205. The decrees of the Synod of 381 were never fully communicated to the Roman See by the Greeks, and this for a very weighty reason. Among these decrees was one—the third on the list of canons—which they did not wish to force on Rome's notice. This, in an arbitrary and unfair manner, exalts the see of **Constantinople** at the expense of the two other principal sees of the East. The canon runs: "The Bishop of Constantinople shall take precedence in rank after the Bishop of Rome, because his city is New Rome." There can be no doubt that this rule would have been condemned in the West, but the Easterns, notwithstanding, here bear flattering testimony to the pre-eminence of the Chair of Peter; they acknowledge the Bishop of Rome as the Primate of the whole Church. At the same time they disturbed the early order of precedence in the Church by trying to raise the hitherto unimportant bishopric of Constantinople above Alexandria and Antioch. Nor was this all; they also handed over to the control of the Bishop of Constantinople the whole diocese of Thrace, formerly governed by the Bishop of Heraclea. The Bishop of New Rome, residing under the ægis of the Imperial throne, could in time become the bishop of the whole Eastern Empire, with spiritual jurisdiction over all the bishops of the East. Such was, later on, to be the steady aim of the Bishops of Constantinople, and still more of the Eastern Emperors. The future already

[1] See the proposal for a Council in MANSI, 3, 630 ff. On the embassy to Rome, ibid., 582. On Photius, ibid., 595. For the alleged confirmation, see FUNK, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 14 (1893), 497.

casts here its shadow upon the Council of 381, in spite of the latter's splendid achievement in rooting out Arianism.[1]

The firm and clear attitude of the Church of Rome, in face of the canon in question, reduced the risk which it involved, and again brought the Primacy of the Popes into evidence.

For a long time the Church refused to recognise this alteration in the ancient Christian canons. The Papal Legate, Lucentius, at the fourth General Council, Pope Leo I., and Pope Gregory I. bear witness to this. Even though, under Gregory the Great, circumstances forced the Pope to concede to the bishop at the Court the title of Patriarch, and even a certain precedence over other Patriarchs, any formal recognition of a higher spiritual jurisdiction over the above dioceses was remarkable by its absence.[2]

The Roman Primate, however, gave his sanction to the dogmatic decrees of this Synod, and at all times they have been considered by the Popes binding formularies of faith, and in consequence strictly enforced. Pope Vigilius speaks of the Synod of 381 as a general one. Pope Gregory I., likewise, though solely on account of its doctrinal decrees, places it in the category of the four General Councils (*i.e.* held before the sixth century, for he makes no allusion to the fifth). He says he values all four as highly as the four Gospels; all deserve as much attention and reverence as the Word of God.[3]

Pope Damasus on Church Government and Holy Writ

206. We choose to close this short notice of the Roman Primacy under Damasus—the most influential Pope of the fourth century—by dealing with two decisions of his, which contain fresh, and till now unknown witnesses to the history of Roman supremacy. These two weighty decrees, each a landmark in the development of church doctrine and legislation, have only recently been ascribed to Damasus by competent critics, having formerly been placed at a later date.

The first decree was promulgated by the Pope at the Roman

[1] Canon 3, with Commentary, in HEFELE, 2, 17.

[2] Fourth General Council, MANSI, 7, 442. LEO, *Ep.* 106, to Anatolius of Constantinople, No. 5; *Patr. lat.*, LIV., 1007. GREGORY I., *Regist.*, 7, No. 31, to Eulogius of Alexandria and Anastasius of Antioch (ed. S. Maur, 7, No. 34).

[3] "*Sicut sancti Evangelii quatuor libros, sic quatuor concilia suscipere et venerari me fateor.*" HEFELE, 2, 31, 33. GREGOR, *Regist.*, 1, No. 24. Synodical letter to the Oriental Patriarchs (ed. S. Maur, 1, No. 25).

Council of 374. It is the earliest decision which gives a complete list of the sacred books of the Old and New Testaments, and is therefore deeply important in the history of the canon of the Bible. It serves to prove that, even then, the same sacred books were recognised and read in the church, as having been written "under the operation of God," as those which are still accepted by Catholics as inspired or canonical. The list begins thus: "The list of the books of the Old Testament, which the Holy Catholic Church accepts and reveres, is as follows," the formula implying that it is a rule of faith based on the earliest traditions, especially of the Roman Church, and teaching mankind in which books the word of God is contained. We have, indeed, received the Bible from God, but in a certain sense from the Church also.[1]

Not long after Damasus, two African Synods also drew up a canon of the Bible in accordance with the traditions of the country—the Synods, namely, of Hippo (393) and of Carthage (397). Their lists agree with that of the Roman See. The Fathers of Hippo, moreover, end their list with the memorable words: "The confirmation of this list shall be settled agreeably with the Church beyond the sea." Thus did the traditions of the See of Peter become an infallible compass by which other Churches might regulate themselves, testing their traditions by those of Rome. For instance, twelve years later, Bishop Exsuperius of Tolosa asks, among other matters in which he wished for instruction and certainty, for an authentic list of the books of the Bible, and this was sent him by Pope Innocent, the Pope adding that all other works which might lay claim to inspiration should "not only be set aside, but also condemned."[2]

The wording of the Bible canon established by Damasus and his Synod shows signs of having been previously prepared by Jerome. Jerome tells us himself that he was working side by side with Pope Damasus, and the very connection in which he mentions this shows how the Papal authority was appealed to on all sides. "I was at that time obliged to answer the synodal

[1] MANSI, 8, 153 ff., with the short introduction from the *Codex Lucensis*, in which it is stated, amongst other things: "*Dei operatione credamus illas (scripturas) esse conditas;* Jerome is there alluded to in connection with the Apocrypha: "*quas etiam vir eruditissimus Hieronymus repudiavit.*" On the attribution of this decree to Damasus, see note 2, p. 335.

[2] For the Council of Hippo, see BALLERINI, in *Opp. S. Leonis, Patr. lat.*, LVI., 429. Council of Carthage: HEFELE, 2, 54, 66. Innocent I.: MANSI, 3, 1038; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 298. Cp. BALLERINI, l.c., col. 505.

questions," he says, "which reached the Apostolic See from the West and from the East."[1]

The other pronouncement of Damasus which we wish to mention here concerns the Patriarchates of the East and the Primacy of the Roman See. In his decree regarding the Patriarchates, he touches on the disputes we have just spoken about concerning the precedence to be accorded the great Eastern bishops; possibly, indeed, the decree stands in historical connection with the events spoken of. But what is more important is his emphatic utterance on the subject of the supremacy of the Roman Church, founded by Christ on Peter—a decree which sets, so to speak, the crown upon all previous pronouncements on the Primacy.[2] It begins thus: "The entire Catholic Church spread over the globe is the sole bridal chamber of Christ. But the Church of Rome has been placed above all other Churches, not by decrees of Councils, but by the word of our Lord and Saviour in the Gospel, who gave it the Primacy when He said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in Heaven.'"[3]

Pope Damasus then goes on to state that Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome with Paul; that they had "consecrated the Church of Rome to Christ the Lord," and that "by their presence and their triumph Rome had been raised above all other cities." "The first See of St. Peter is therefore the Roman Church," which indeed, he continues in biblical language, "is a Church without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing."[4]

"The second see was consecrated at Alexandria, in the name of St. Peter, by his disciple Mark the Evangelist. For Mark was sent to Egypt by Peter, and there, after preaching the word of

[1] HIERON., *Ep.* 130, No. 10.

[2] MANSI, 8, 158, before the so-called Gelasian Decretals, with which this statement was associated; HEFELE, 2, 620, 621.

[3] "*Quamvis universae per orbem catholicae diffusae ecclesiae unus thalamus Christi sit, sancta tamen romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutionibus caeteris ecclesiis praelata est, sed evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit, 'Tu es Petrus,' inquientis, 'et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam,'*" &c.

[4] "*Est ergo prima Petri apostoli sedes romana ecclesia, non habens maculam, neque rugam nec aliquid huiusmodi.*" Cp. *Eph.* v., 27.

truth, endured a glorious martyrdom. The third Chair of Peter, however, at Antioch, is of equally distinguished rank, for there Peter had dwelt himself before he came to Rome; there, too, the name of Christians was first bestowed on the new converts."[1]

According to this explanation of the origin of the Patriarchates, which was to be repeated by later Popes, such as Gelasius and Gregory I., it was the hallowed name of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the dignity of his See which gave unity to the different chief dioceses of the Church.

Various views have been offered regarding the origin of the patriarchal dignity. The above Papal decree has the great advantage of being the earliest, and of emanating from the best authority. Evidently the idea prevailed at Rome and in the West, and with good reason, that the superiority of the Patriarchs had its foundation in a closer share of the power and dignity of the centre and source of church unity at Rome, and was not the outcome of the successful efforts at self-aggrandisement of the Patriarchs themselves, or of the political rank of their sees. Hereby, of course, the view was not excluded that the historical commencement of the pre-eminence of Alexandria and Antioch was also largely a result of the good work done by these churches for the spread of the faith throughout their wide spheres of influence. As a fact, both became parent-churches to numerous bishoprics of their own foundation. Unfortunately precise data are wanting which might enable us to trace the earliest historical development of their patriarchal institutions.

As regards the principle, however, it must be borne in mind that any pre-eminence above other bishops of Patriarchs, or Exarchs, or Archbishops, was merely an outcome of historical circumstances, and not of any divine ordinance. The only exception was the Primacy of Peter. The Gospels and Tradition assure us of this one, but of this one only, that it is to continue by divine ordinance as a lasting office embodied in the heirs of Peter, the head of the whole Church.

Accepting all this, we repeat that no more satisfactory explanation than that of Pope Damasus could be given regarding the existing pre-eminence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. As, according to it, these two greatest of the Eastern

[1] *Secunda sedes apud Alexandriam beati Petri nomine . . . consecrata . . . Tertia sedes apud Antiochiam item beatissimi apostoli Petri habetur honorabilis,*" &c.

bishoprics appear as, in a certain sense, sees of Peter, the Roman successors of Peter have no ground for any jealousy against them. On the contrary, they enjoy and share the honour pertaining to those sees. The patriarchal dignity, so far from being a source of discord, will be strengthened and confirmed by the holder of the Roman See. As the East makes a loud and joyous confession of the unity of the Church, we cannot but take it that the precedence of the patriarchs is founded upon a certain derivative authority which they have from Peter's plenitude of power. All acknowledged that Christ did not found three Churches, but only one, and that as a living, perfect society which, consequently, can have but one Head.

The Roman Bishop as Patriarch and Metropolitan

207. In the above decree Pope Damasus mentions only two Patriarchs beside himself. He does not yet know of one at **Constantinople,** which city he regards as a simple Bishop's see. The bishopric in question, far from having been associated with the history of Peter or any other Apostle, had been, previous to the transference of the Imperial residence to Byzantium, a quite unimportant and almost unknown place.

The other Patriarchate, which was to be heard of at a later date in connection with the previous, that of **Jerusalem,** was likewise unknown to Damasus. Jerusalem, or Ælia Capitolina, was indeed a venerable see, of which the bishop, as was acknowledged by the Council of Nicæa, enjoyed special privileges in Palestine. Only in the first half of the fifth century, however, did this see blossom into a Patriarchate, the General Council of Chalcedon bestowing on it the government of the three Palestinian provinces.[1]

On the other hand, the Patriarchs of **Alexandria** and Antioch are mentioned by the Council of Nicæa (325) as respectively first and second in order, just as they are by Damasus, the Council confirming their extensive jurisdiction. That of the Bishop of Alexandria extended over the political "diocese" of Egypt—that is, Egypt in its narrower sense, Libya, the Pentapolis or

[1] *Conc. Nicaen.*, c. 7 : ἐχέτω ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς, τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. *Conc. Chalc., sess.* 7 ; at Chalcedon an arrangement was made between Antioch and Jerusalem ; HEFELE, 2, 477 ff.

Cyrenaica, and the Thebais. The Bishop of Antioch had under him the political "diocese" of the East, consisting of the provinces in and around Syria. The Nicene Council further in the same decree speaks also of other "Eparchies"—*i.e.* wider ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the East, in which, as it says, the Churches shall retain their existing privileges.[1]

What is of considerable importance is the fact that the Council of Nicæa includes the Roman See in the same decree. Not, indeed, that it formally decided anything concerning the Primacy, which is only quite erroneously supposed to have been either confirmed or acknowledged at Nicæa. There was then no occasion to deal with it as there was in the case of the Eastern Patriarchates. The existence of the Western Patriarchate was only instanced as a parallel where the canon of the Council says, regarding the two Eastern Patriarchates: "The Bishop of Alexandria (and consequently the Bishop of Antioch, too) shall have power over his provinces, seeing that the Bishop of Rome enjoys such power"—which evidently means that, just as the Roman bishop exercises patriarchal jurisdiction, so those two bishops may henceforth exercise it. In this manner the special position of the Roman bishop in the West was indirectly recognised or assumed, though the Nicene Fathers have nothing to say of the supremacy of the Church of Peter over both the East and the West.

The Bishop of Rome, as a fact, is also a Patriarch, and his Patriarchate comprises the whole of the West. In this vast field no one but himself holds the rank of Patriarch. One could better say that the bishop of Rome, besides the supremacy which he holds over the whole Church, exercises a closer supervision over the bishops in the West, similar to that acquired by the Eastern Patriarchs over their own provinces.

There exists something similar between the bishopric of Rome and the metropolitanship of Italy. Though the Pope is Primate of the whole Church, he governs, as Bishop, only the city of Rome. In the same way he directs, as Metropolitan or Archbishop, only certain dioceses of Italy, such as are not under other Archbishops, but belong to the Roman province.

Thus, taking his titles in the ascending order, the Pope is,

[1] *Concil. Nicaen.*, can. 6: καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Cp. HEFELE, I, 389 ff.

Ill. 79,—"Bishop" Damasus on one of his Inscriptions in the Catacomb of Prætextatus.

first, Bishop of Rome, then one of several Italian Metropolitans, then Patriarch of the West, and, finally, Primate of the whole Church.[1]

The usual title assumed by the Popes was always "Bishop." We thus find them immortalised in their earliest inscriptions, and with this word *episcopus* the name of Pope Damasus, too, comes prominently before us in the Catacombs on the marble tablets, which remind us of the work he undertook for their adornment (Ill. 79).[2]

These various dignities, one differing from the other in their sphere of action, continued to assert themselves throughout the earlier period of Church-history. The patriarchal dignity of Rome, especially, was so well known that the Council of Nicæa could quote it in confirming the rights of the Eastern Patriarchs. But, generally speaking, the four offices were so closely interwoven that they are scarcely ever mentioned apart; in fact, we have no right to separate them as if their distinction amounted to a difference, seeing that they are all four founded upon the Pope's title to the successorship of Peter.

In their directions and decisions, when desirous of emphasising their supremacy, the Popes accordingly trace their privileges to Peter and the pre-eminence which Christ conferred upon him, this being the case whether their supremacy is brought into play in the city of Rome or in their Italian church province, or elsewhere in the West, or even outside the Western Patriarchate—*i.e.* in the East. In the letters which they have bequeathed us they scarcely seem aware of the distinction between the four degrees of their office, at least they make no distinction when justifying their claim to intervene. In the language of the Popes, and also of their contemporaries, it is always Peter who is the medium of all their power. The Bishops of Rome are one, so to speak, with Peter. On the other hand, however, their measures naturally depended very much upon the circumstance of place, applying, for instance, sometimes to Rome alone, at other times to their own Patriarchate, and sometimes to both East and West together.

[1] Cp. PHILLIPS, *Kirchenrecht*, 5, 709-715. HINSCHIUS, item, 1, 212-214.

[2] From a photograph by Parker, showing the fragments restored to their original position on the Tomb of St. Januarius. Cp. KRAUS, *Roma sotterranea*, 2, 92. Cp. also with the designation ἐπίσκοπος and episcopus in Ills. 72 and 73, and in Vol. II., Ill. 82.

Thus there are circular letters of the early Popes giving disciplinary directions intended only for the clergy and people of the city of Rome—simple Pastoral Letters and nothing more, which some have been far too ready to impose as rules on the whole Church. Other encyclicals and Roman Councils published decrees which were to hold throughout the Roman province, but not elsewhere. There are also a few enactments and charges intended for the whole Patriarchate; their comparative rarity is explained by the fact that the Popes usually preferred to address themselves to the whole Church whenever a matter was of sufficient importance to concern the whole wide Western Patriarchate. Finally, decrees addressed to East and West, such as were repeatedly called for during the struggle with heresy, form the fourth and highest acts of Papal government. The doctrinal decrees, moreover, in all such acts, no matter what name they bear, always stand on the same footing as the administrative deeds; and, when dealing with questions of faith or morals, the Popes do not, like ordinary teachers, speak theoretically, but show their determination to impose on the Faithful obedience and agreement.[1]

208. The actual extent of the **Roman Patriarchate,** after the division of the Empire in the fourth century, was the following. It embraced the Prefecture of Italy, those of the two Gauls, and that of Eastern Illyricum. The first Prefecture contained the three political "dioceses" of Italy, Western Illyricum, and Africa; the second Prefecture included the "dioceses" of Spain, of the *Septem Provinciae* (*i.e.* Gaul, Belgium, *Germaniae prima* and *secunda*, &c.), and Britain. The third Prefecture was that of *Illyricum Orientale*, with the "dioceses" of Macedonia and Dacia, which since Theodosius I. had formed a portion of the Eastern Empire.[2] Since the time of the same Emperor the Popes had paid especial attention to Eastern Illyricum, on account of their

[1] Cp. DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, cxxvii. ff.: *Les décrets disciplinaires et liturgiques.* On the government within the limits of the Patriarchate, see HEFELE, I, 401.

[2] The political diocese of Italy was divided during the fourth century into two halves. One, called *dioecesis suburbicaria*, with Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; the other, *dioecesis annonaria*, or *dioecesis Italiae*, *i.e.* of the peninsula as far as the neighbourhood of Pisa and Ravenna. Two vicars directed these divisions. One, for the south, lived in Rome, and was called *Vicarius in urbe*, or *urbis*; the other in Milan, and was called *Vicarius Italiae*. Rome had also its *Praefectus urbi* for the city itself and its environs as far as the hundredth milestone. Cp. MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (1873), I, 81 ff. HEFELE, I, 400, 397 ff., regarding the much-disputed and ill-chosen expression used by Rufinus, according to which the Council of Nicæa had recognised the *ecclesiae suburbicariae* as standing under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

jurisdiction, which was involved. In consequence of the annexation of these provinces to the Eastern Empire by Theodosius, the Eastern Church showed some inclination to exercise control and guidance over the local bishops. Accordingly, to maintain the existing state of things, Pope Damasus, or possibly his successor Siricius, had founded the Apostolic Vicariate of **Thessalonica** of which the Archbishop, as the Pope's vicegerent, was to watch over and exercise Papal jurisdiction throughout the vast church provinces of Eastern Illyricum, which formed a part of the Patriarchate of the West.[1]

After the time of Siricius, and down to the seventh century, the Popes continued to appoint Apostolic Vicars for Thessalonica, and these vicars, though their importance went on steadily diminishing, helped materially to organise ecclesiastical life, and to lighten the task of the central church government in those far-distant regions. Quarrels and confusion of course arose, such incidents being unavoidable in frontier districts. The see of Constantinople, with its projects for self-aggrandisement, found its way hemmed in in this direction by the Papal Vicariate of Eastern Illyricum.[2]

Another Vicariate of the Holy See was created in Southern Gaul about thirty years after the death of Damasus, where the Archbishop of **Arles** became the Papal delegate. The arrangement was frequently altered, and can scarcely be considered to have been definitively settled till the time of Pope Hilary. Though, on the whole, it was less successful than the Popes had expected, yet it helped to give expression and permanence to the union with Rome of the church provinces of Southern Gaul, and to avert the risks of schism.[3]

Apart from these two Vicariates, until the seventh century

[1] *Ep. Innocent I., ad Anysium Thessal.*; idem, *ad Rufum Thessal.*, c. 2; JAFFÉ-KALTENBRUNNER, No. 285, 300.

[2] The documents concerning the subordination of Eastern Illyricum to Rome appear in a lawsuit brought in the year 531 at Rome, in which figured a native bishop named Stephen. The suit is recorded in the *Cod. Vatic.*, 5751, of the tenth century, once at Bobbio. FRIEDRICH (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayr. Akademie, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1891, p. 771 ff.), and, later on, Mommsen, (*Neues Archiv*, 18, 357 ff.), declared that this collection of deeds was a forgery, but Duchesne has triumphantly refuted their objections: "The history of the ecclesiastical organisation of Eastern Illyricum will remain such as it has been hitherto" (*Churches Separated from Rome*, Engl. Trans., p. 170).

[3] GRISAR, *Analecta rom.*, 1, Diss. VIII., *Roma e la chiesa dei Franchi*, No. 1; *I papi primi del secolo sesto*, p. 333 ff. GUNDLACH, *Neues Archiv*, 14 (1889), 251 ff.; 15 (1890), 9 ff. and 233 ff. DUCHESNE, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, 1 (1893), ch. 2. W. SCHMITZ, *Der Vicariat von Arles*, in the *Historishes Jahrbuch*, 12 (1891), 1 ff., 245 ff.

there was only one episcopal see in the West exercising steady control over several church provinces, that being the see of **Carthage.** As early as the third century Carthage stands forth in dignity and influence among the North-African church provinces on account of its very numerous bishoprics, and the Bishop of Carthage appears in a certain sense as Primate of North Africa. The authority of the Roman See was, however, too strong in those regions to allow of the formation there of any institution at all resembling the Patriarchates of the East. On the contrary, owing to its nearness, Rome could easily supervise these regions, and always kept them under her especial control. The Gospel had also been first preached to North Africa from Rome, and it was only because the capital, Carthage, had been the natural starting-point of the first missioners to the country that it acquired a certain spiritual predominance over the rest of Roman Africa.[1]

In many other places throughout the West missioners sent direct from Rome had similarly founded Churches, and bound them by obligation to Rome. Such missioners sought out the larger towns, commencing their work at the seats of Roman provincial government. It was from these political centres that the conversion of the surrounding countries was usually undertaken. A consequence of this was that, later on, the greater towns frequently assumed metropolitan rights over the surrounding sees; in fact, it is usual to find the seat of the Archbishop side by side with the seat of the civil provincial government, the ecclesiastical and the political province being so often identical. To state, however, as has been done, that this arose owing to the State having itself established ecclesiastical power and appointed its holders, would betray an extraordinary misconception.

209. If we now start to review the various metropolitan centres of Italy and the position of the early Popes as local metropolitans, it must first be noticed that the Roman church-province long remained the only one for the whole of Italy. This province, therefore, originally included all the dioceses of the country. The first province to break away was that of **Milan.** Whilst in Spain and in Gaul the metropolitan system is not heard of till the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, Milan was already a

[1] DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien*, ch. 1; *Les circonscriptions ecclésiastiques*, p. 16 ff. Cp. LECLERCQ'S article, *Afrique*, in CABROL'S *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, &c., and his special *L'Afrique chrét.*

thriving church-metropolis in the fourth century. This city, with its large suffragan sees, at the time of St. Ambrose, and when the Western Emperors made their residence within its walls, almost vied with Rome. The church-province of Milan coincided with the extensive political diocese of *Italia annonaria*—*i.e.* embraced the northern portion of the peninsula—and, in the fifth century, also *Rhaetia prima*.[1]

At the beginning of the fifth century the see of **Aquileia** was detached from Milan, and became the metropolis of the north-eastern Italian dioceses, its example being followed soon after by **Ravenna** for the south-eastern portion of the old unwieldy province. Finally, at **Salona** in Western Illyricum (Spalato in Dalmatia) another important archbishopric was established.[2]

Rome retained as its peculiar province the whole remaining portion of Italy and the adjacent islands. In time, however, a Metropolitan see seems to have been established at Caralis (Cagliari); at least Gregory the Great bestows the title of *Metropolita* on the Bishop of Caralis, and speaks of ancient privileges associated with the title.[3]

The suffragan bishops of the Roman province were numerous, particularly in Southern Italy, and generally their dioceses were small, like those in North Africa. They thus differed greatly from those in Northern Italy, and still more from those in the other provinces of the Western Empire, where, for special reasons, it had been the custom from the beginning to make the dioceses few in number but vast in extent. By far the larger number of the sixty bishops assembled in Council at Rome by Pope Cornelius, in 251, belonged to the petty sees of Central or Southern Italy.[4]

Two special prerogatives belonged, as we know, to the Metropolitan. He had the right of **consecrating** all bishops elected in

[1] For *Italia annonaria*, see ante, p. 344, note 2. On Milan, see DUCHESNE, *Origines*, p. 30 ff. In *Rhaetia prima*, the most important see was that of Chur or Coire.

[2] In the sixth century we find the see of Aquileia associated with *Rhaetia secunda* (Augsburg), with Noricum (Tiburnia), Savia (Emona), and *Pannonia prima* (Scarbantia). The metropolitan system is not traceable in the provinces we have enumerated, nor in *Rhaetia prima*, until these districts were separated from the Roman Empire; and the same holds good of Britain. In Gaul and Spain it was introduced at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. DUCHESNE, l.c., p. 31.

[3] Cp. GREGOR., *Registr.*, 9, No. 202; to the Bishops of Sardinia, JAFFÉ-EWALD, No. 1729. The Bishop of Caralis probably did not enjoy all the prerogatives of a Metropolitan.

[4] Council of 251 in EUSEBIUS, *Hist. eccl.*, VI., c. 43.

his province, and of convoking them to ordinary or extraordinary Councils at his own city. Hence the whole body of suffragans of Milan, Ravenna, and also of Rome were frequently spoken of, sometimes as the episcopate "of the consecration" (*ordinatio*) of the Bishops of Milan, Ravenna, or Rome, sometimes as the *concilium* or "synod" of their respective Metropolitan; whilst they generally are called "his" bishops.

At Rome the Pope personally undertook the consecration of "his" bishops on certain Sundays in the year. As regards the periodical provincial Councils, however, the original rule, observed elsewhere, also held good for Rome, viz., that they should be held twice a year at the appointed seasons. Alterations, however, occurred in this rule, mainly on account of the numerous exceptional cases which were constantly requiring the bishops to assemble.[1]

Nor must we overlook that these two official functions of the Roman Metropolitan—*i.e.* consecration of his bishops and their convocation in council—were scarcely distinguished by the Pope from those actions which he performed as Patriarch of the West or Primate of the whole Church. Thus, frequently enough, foreign, non-Italian bishops were consecrated at Rome, particularly such as had come thither for this purpose, whether they were meant for already existing sees, or were to go forth as missioners to unconverted heathen lands. It is almost always of such bishops that the formula is used which so frequently recurs in the *Liber pontificalis:* "The Pope consecrated . . . bishops for divers places" (*per diversa loca*).

At the Roman Provincial Councils the Pope's Primacy would also be exercised over the whole Church, as, for instance, when, at these simple Synods uniting a comparatively small number of Italian bishops, decisions were taken regarding the affairs of distant Churches. Important and far-reaching resolutions, even on questions of dogma, were repeatedly come to at these tiny Provincial Councils. Certainly, as a rule, the foreign bishops who happened to be present at Rome were all convened to the Roman Synods, and it is no rare thing to find among the signatures of quite unimportant gatherings strange-sounding names belong-

[1] On the consecrations at Rome, see DUCHESNE, *Liber pont.*, I, p. civ. On such Councils, see *Conc. Nicaen.*, c. 5, and *Can. apost.*, 38 (36); HEFELE, I, 387; likewise *Conc. Chalced.*, c. 19; *Conc. Agathense* (a. 506), c. 71; *Conc. Aurel.*, II. (a. 533), c. 2.

ing to such visitors from afar; their presence was welcomed as lending additional weight to the assembly, and as an expression of the lofty thought that every act of the Pope, even his most trivial deeds as Bishop, owing to the Primacy of Peter and the position of the first metropolis of the world, are stamped with the character of universality.[1]

210. We often find the names of the other Metropolitans of Italy among the signatures at the Roman Provincial Councils, those, for instance, of Milan, Aquileia, Salona, Ravenna, and Caralis. It would seem, however, that attendance at Synods held by the Roman Metropolitan was obligatory only on the Archbishop of Ravenna, who stood in very close connection with the Pope. He had risen from being a simple suffragan bishop of the Roman province to the dignity of a Metropolitan, and, in consequence of the nearness of his city to Rome, he retained a good deal of his former dependence. The Bishops of Ravenna were also obliged to receive their consecration at Rome, which was granted only after the acts of their election had been previously examined.

Perhaps at an earlier date there existed a similar obligation on the part of the Metropolitan of Caralis to receive consecration and attend Councils at Rome. On the other hand, it was not essential that the Archbishops of Milan, Aquileia, and Salona should be personally consecrated by the Pope. It sufficed, when their election had duly taken place, that it should be ratified at Rome, following which the bishops of their respective church-provinces could proceed without further ado to the consecration of their new chief. For the Metropolitans of the West, presiding over more remote church-provinces, a different custom prevailed, by which they were enabled to manifest their unity with and submission to the Pope. They announced their installation to the Pope only after having been elected and consecrated, and then received in their turn, from Peter's successor, the usual brief assuring them of their communion with Rome. Finally, those bishops who belonged to no province may be said to have simply acknowledged the Pope as their Metropolitan and immediate superior. Pope Gregory says of a case in question: "This bishop is a dependent

[1] In Constantinople the Synods in which bishops who happened to be present in the city took part, were called *σύνοδοι ἐνδημοῦσαι*: HEFELE, I, 4. In Rome we also meet with similar "domestic Synods."

of the Roman See, for the Apostolic See is Head of all the Churches." [1]

Whilst the Western Episcopacy, as a general rule, was united to the Bishop of Rome, through the medium of the Metropolitan, the regular and permanent attestation of the East's union with Rome is the exchange of letters which the Patriarchs were each obliged to commence after their elevation. They sent him the so-called *Synodica—i.e.* the letter published at their first Synod —proclaiming their entry into office, and expressing communion and affection. Further intercourse depended upon circumstances, the East appealing for the Pope's help whenever it required it in the interests of unity. But even without being invited the Pope intervened when the need arose, addressing his remarks, not exclusively to the Patriarchs, but even directly to the Metropolitans and simple bishops. On their side, newly-elected Popes were wont to send their *Synodica* to the Patriarchs, this address, with the reply of the Patriarchs, being deemed of themselves a sufficient manifestation of the union of the Head with the distant members of the Eastern Church.

As the Metropolitans stood under the Patriarchs, and the bishops under the Metropolitans, the intercourse of the Popes with the Patriarchs was the means of infusing into the whole body of the Eastern Church the life-blood of union with the Apostolic See.

211. It would be exceedingly stupid at the present day to fancy, like some of the earlier theologians, that in those ancient times the government of the Roman Church was as highly centralised as it became later. This development had to be preceded by an age-long expansion of national life and ecclesiastical conditions before matters could lead up, almost of necessity, to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome being exercised more generally on the bishops directly, with a concomitant lessening of the power of the metropolitan intermediaries. Nevertheless, in the extraordinary exercise of their office, for instance in cases of grave peril for the whole Church, the Popes even of early times sometimes held so tightly the reins of government that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between their conduct then and now.

[1] "*A sede apostolica, quae omnium ecclesiarum caput est, causa . . . dirimenda fuerat.*" GREGOR, *Registr.*, 15, No. 50; *Ioanni defensori eunti Spania*, p. 416 (ed. S. Maur., 13, No. 45).

The mistake of early writers, who were better theologians than historians, and who, in good faith, put their trust in spurious documents, consisted in taking too much for granted, and in seeing a fully developed Primacy in the ordinary exercise of authority of the early Bishops of Rome. On the other hand, the following passages, which we cull from **Gregorovius**, and which voice views current of recent years, fail to do justice to the Primacy. These passages were inspired, not by historical truth, but by controversial interests; and their true value may well be appreciated in the light of what we already know concerning the decided attitude of the Papacy in the Arian struggles, and the power and independence of action which it exercised under Damasus:—

"The Roman Bishop (at the beginning of the fifth century) was a man much looked up to on account of his position, but still a mere priest appointed by the Emperor, and his humble subject. The distinction between Church and State, between spiritual and temporal power, was as yet unknown." "These Roman priests, whose proceedings are veiled in obscurity until well on in the fourth century, lived and laboured under the shadow of the Empire, hidden and unnoticed. Even in the fifth century, till the time of Leo I., no single Bishop of any historical importance had sat on the chair of Peter." But "the Successors of Peter" ("the legendary Founder of the Roman community") "endeavoured, with Roman perseverance, to obtain an Apostolic supremacy for the See which they occupied in the Lateran, and for their Church a Primacy over all others in Christendom."

Gregorovius unhappily makes these very passages the starting-point of his *History of the City of Rome* and of all it describes.[1]

The most recent Protestant historian to write upon Pope Damasus finds, however, the beginning of a Papacy invested with authority over the Churches in the fact that "Damasus was appointed by Valentinian I. chief judge over the bishops." But this Imperial "appointment" he does not consider to have been over the whole Church. "Damasus," he says, "was made supreme head of the highest ecclesiastical judicial court of the [Western] Empire." "A separation thus arose in the West between the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions," and this at least led up to the subsequent Primacy. Only by abstaining of set purpose from

[1] *Gesch. der Stadt Rom im MA.*, 1^4, 113, 172.

all study of earlier times, and from any consideration of the ancient historical sources dealing with the Papacy and the Church, was it possible for this author to make such ideas his own.[1]

In the sixteenth century the Magdeburg Centuriators described even more drastically the origin of Rome's spiritual power out of the temporal power of the Emperors. Their well-known work, edited by Flacius Illyricus, and intended as an historical defence of Lutheranism, takes neither Damasus in the fourth, nor (as is now more usual) Leo the Great in the fifth, but Boniface III. in the seventh century as the first holder of the Primacy, and that by favour of the Emperor. It was, forsooth, that cruel and vicious tyrant, the Emperor Phocas, who went so far in wickedness as to make out of the Roman bishop, Boniface III., a monster like himself, an œcumenical bishop. "After immense efforts," we are told, Boniface attained his aim.

In this wise was "Antichrist" set up "in the House of the Lord."

The Centuriators differentiate, in Luther's language, between Antichrist who secretly goes about and Antichrist who publicly rules upon the earth. "As early as the first century after Christ" the hidden one had given unpleasant proofs of his existence. At Rome it was not, correctly speaking, a single person, but rather a whole hostile realm which had gradually and unobtrusively established itself by dint of fiendish force and fraud; then came that scoundrel Phocas and embodied the idea of Antichrist in the person of the Popes. Antichrist having begun to govern publicly the Church, another Antichrist, according to the Centuriators, promptly made his appearance elsewhere, viz., Mohammed, who six years later arose in Arabia. In their eyes the Pope of Rome and Mohammed clearly make quite a well-matched pair.

Some readers may also be interested to learn that the same authors relate how, when Boniface III. secured the Primacy under Phocas, "a comet appeared in the heavens, visible everywhere through its fiery glare, a lucid admonition to look up with eyes and heart to the truth of God's Word, and to learn that the Head of the Church and the holder of the Primacy is Christ alone, who reigns in heaven." There is also certainly a deep mystery, they

[1] M. RADE, *Damasus, Bischof von Rom. Ein Beitrag zur Gesch. der Anfänge des römischen Primates* (Freiburg im B., 1882), p. 29, 162. Cp. my discussion of this work in the *Zeitschr. für kath. Theol.*, 8 (1884), 190 ff., cp. Vol. II., No. 212.

remark, in the fact that both parties concerned in the transaction perished miserably—Boniface of Rome, the bearer, and Phocas of Constantinople, the Imperial founder, of the Papal power.[1]

[1] *Centuria*, 7, 21, 228, 479, on Phocas and Boniface III. Ibid. I., 2, 435 ff., on Antichrist; 7, 21, on Mohammed. The story of the comet became a favourite, see *e.g.* JOANNES WOLFIUS, *Lectiones memorabiles* (2nd ed., Francof. ad Moen., 1671), t. 1, *Cent.* 7, p. 143: "*Exarsit cometa in coelo . . . iubens veritatem verbi divini oculis et mente intueri*," &c. On the ideas of the Centuriators regarding the early Papacy, see NIEMÖLLER, *Matthias Flacius und der Flacianische Geist in der ältern protestantischen Kirchenhistorie*, in the *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 12 (1888), 75–115.

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END OF VOL. I.

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